This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

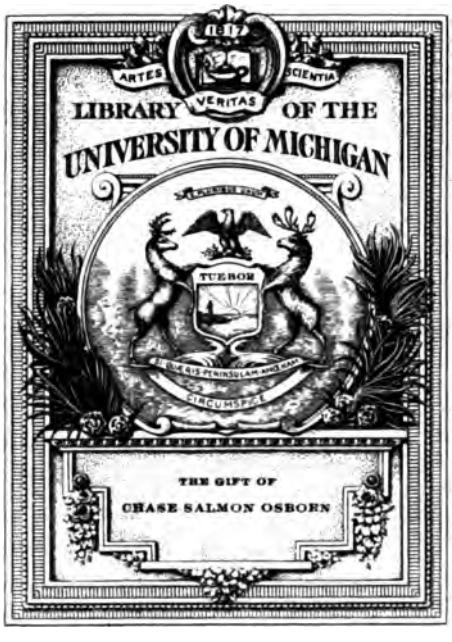
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

A 836,821

dro



FROM THE LIBRARY OF
CHASE SALMON OSBORN
LL.D., UNIV. OF MICH., 1911
REGENT, UNIV. OF MICH., 1908-11
GOVERNOR OF MICHIGAN, 1911-12
AUTHOR, EDITOR, SCHOLAR,
STATESMAN.
FRIEND AND BENEFACTOR OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
THROUGHOUT HIS LONG LIFE.

WITH MACDONALD IN UGANDA

COLONEL J R. L. MACDONALD, C.B., R.E.

[illegible] MACDONALD IN UGANDA

[illegible] Account of the Uganda Mutiny and [illegible] Expedition in the Uganda Protectorate and the Territories to the North

MAJOR HERBERT H[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

LONDON

EDWARD ARNOLD

Publisher to the Indian Mutiny

[illegible]

WITH MACDONALD IN UGANDA

A Narrative Account of the Uganda Mutiny and Macdonald Expedition in the Uganda Protectorate and the Territories to the North

BY

MAJOR HERBERT H. AUSTIN

C.M.G., D.S.O., ROYAL ENGINEERS; FELLOW OF THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

AUTHOR OF

'AMONG SWAMPS AND GIANTS IN EQUATORIAL AFRICA

WITH MAP AND ILLUSTRATIONS

LONDON

EDWARD ARNOLD

Publisher to the India Office

1903

DT
434
.U2
A9

Library
of
Rev. Chas S. Osborn
1-16-50

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

TO THOSE

MILITARY OFFICERS, CIVILIANS, MISSIONARIES OF ALL DENOMINATIONS, GOVERNMENT FORCES, AND LOYAL WAGANDA,

WHO SO

SUCCESSFULLY ASSISTED IN EXTRICATING UGANDA FROM ONE OF THE MOST GRAVE CRISES OF ITS HISTORY.

PREFACE

In the following pages an attempt has been made to give some idea of the exploratory work accomplished by the expedition sent out to East Africa in June, 1897, under command of Major (now Colonel) J. R. L. Macdonald, R.E. How this expedition was early confronted with a grave situation in Uganda is perhaps well known; but so many erroneous impressions exist regarding the actual outbreak of hostilities with the Sudanese mutineers that I trust this account of what in reality did take place, as recorded by one who was on the spot at the time, will remove them. It would not be difficult to devote a whole book to the operations which were carried out, and I have of necessity to be somewhat brief in my allusions to the fighting that ensued, as the scope of the book is intended to cover the entire period of the expedition in the field. My chief regret is that, being for long intervals detached from our leader in command of more or less independent columns, I am unable to do full justice to the most interesting exploratory work of Colonel Macdonald. The bulk of my notes, not unnaturally, recount in detail the daily experiences of the columns

by which I was accompanied, and, as my former chief is no longer in England, I am largely dependent on the information contained in my own private diaries. I hope this fact, therefore, will be borne in mind should the reader consider that the doings of the columns with me occupy too prominent a position in the following pages. I have tried to do justice to the work of all with the meagre information I have at my command respecting the movements of others.

I would desire to express my obligations to Colonel Macdonald for permitting me to utilize the sketches of the Fight on Lubwa's Hill and the view of Mount Dabasien, prepared from drawings supplied by that officer; and to Majors Barratt and Scott for placing their albums at my disposal.

My thanks are also due to the officers whose portraits appear in these pages, all of whom bore an important share in the operations described, and have given me permission to make use of their photographs.

H. H. A.

January, 1903.

CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION ... ... 1—3

CHAPTER I

THE START

Rough voyage to Aden—Meet Macdonald and his staff—The voyage continued—Mombasa—Changes—Sclater—Concentration at railhead—Railway accident—Difficulty regarding water—Start from railhead—Scarcity of water—Railway camp, Voi—Ted and Billy ... ... 4—14

CHAPTER II

NDI TO FORT SMITH

Reorganization of cart-transport at Ndi—Slow progress of Sclater carts to Kibwezi—Illness of Major Macdonald—Continues to Makindu—Night marching—Mwani—Over Athi plains—A bewildered rhino—Meet Cavendish, Andrew, and Harrison—Adventure Camp—Lion hunt on Athi—Fort Smith again—McLoughlin gets enteric—Increase in size of Fort Smith—Masai enlisted ... ... 15—26

CHAPTER III

FORT SMITH TO NGARE NYUKI

An exodus—Man killed by lightning—A well-worn rock—Meet Hall and Fielding—Naivasha post—Nocturnal visitor—Forced

PAGE

march to avoid infected area—Meet Ternan and Moffat—Jackson at Kampi Mbaruk—A tip—Lion hunt at Nakuru—Ngare Nyuki—Reorganization of whole expedition—Sudanese escort begin to arrive—Macdonald's interview with them 27—35

CHAPTER IV

THE SUDANESE MUTINY

Desertion of escort at Ngare Nyuki—Refuse to listen to reason—Nandi sacked—Arrival of pursuing column at Mumia's—The mutineers continue to Lubwa's—Arrival of Thruston at Lubwa's—Treachery of garrison—Pursuing column arrive—Fruitless negotiations—The fight of October 19, 1897—Murder of Thruston and his comrades—Passive investment—The situation in Uganda—Sudanese dream of a Mohammedan kingdom—Serious engagement of November 24, heavy losses suffered by Waganda—An advanced work established—Reinforcements begin to arrive ... ... 36—54

CHAPTER V

WITH NO. 1 COLUMN TO SAVE

Ngare Nyuki to Njemps—Desertion of escort—Lake Baringo—Man mauled by lion—On to the Suk plains, up difficult valley—Over the Kerio—Reach Suk settlements—Establish a post at Marich—The Wa-Suk and their country—Difficult progress up the Muroni—Camels' Leap—Cutting down rations—First sight of Mount Elgon—Out on the plains again—Greeted by rhinos—The Turkwel—Famine in Karamojo—Change direction to Save—Along the foot of Elgon—Establish post at base of mountain—The ascent to the Save plateau—Charming surroundings ... ... 55—73

CHAPTER VI

SAVE TO LUBWA'S

Save—Its inhabitants—Difficulties regarding food—New market—Norman Macdonald arrives at Save—Serious news from the Major—Despatch two columns—Round the eastern slopes of Elgon—Reach Ketosh—Friendly natives and food plentiful—Reach Mumia's—Continue journey to Lubwa's—Usoga—Amateur doctoring—Arrive at Lubwa's ... ... 74—89

CHAPTER VII

THE MUTINY OPERATIONS (*CONTINUED*)

PAGE

Position at Lubwa's—Reinforcements—Death of Norman Macdonald and Pilkington—Alarming news from Buddu—Mwanga takes the field—His defeat—Events at Lubwa's—Escape of the mutineers—Critical position of Protectorate—Arrival of Scott—Macdonald resumes command—Race for Unyoro—Kijembo—Kabagambi—Death of Molony—Unyoro saved—Operations against Mwanga's Mohammedans—Price arrives with seventy-five Afridis—I return to Kampala—Fight of April 26 near Mruli—Malcolm's brilliant little success—Uganda safe once more—Macdonald hands over command to Martyr—Appreciation of our chief's operations ... ... 90—114

CHAPTER VIII

KAMPALA TO MOUNT ELGON (MAIN BODY)

Reorganization of expedition—Difficulties regarding escort—Tracy and Bright start—Expedition leaves Kampala—On the road to Mumia's—March to Mount Elgon—Our journey round the western slopes—Magnificent scenery and much cultivation—Trouble with the Wa-Ngoko—Their folly and punishment—Impudence of Muhasa natives—Difficult march—Reach Mbai, our food depot—Tracy's arrangements at Save—Left for Ngaboto with Bright ... ... 115—133

CHAPTER IX

PREPARATIONS FOR EXPLORATORY WORK

Transport food from Mbai to Save—Arrival of Kirkpatrick and McLoughlin from Lake Choga—Their experiences—Transport animals from Karamojo—Details of the three columns—Crippled condition of expedition after mutiny ... 134—140

CHAPTER X

HEADQUARTERS TO GULE AND TITI

The start—reach Manimani—Disturbing news regarding Sudanese ahead—Light column organized—Journey to Gule—News of mutineers—Post established at Gule—Macdonald returns to Manimani—McLoughlin's and Kirkpatrick's experience at Gule—Withdrawal of post to Titi—Column reunited 141—152

CHAPTER XI

HEADQUARTERS TO LATUKA—RETURN TO SAVE

PAGE

The journey to Latuka—Cordial reception by Sultan—Tarangole—Sudanese return with column—New route to Titi—All well at post—Considerations to attempt joining hands with Egypt—Project abandoned—Bukora once more—Murder of Kirkpatrick—Punitive column proceeds to Nakwai—The attack on the enemy's stronghold—Destruction of villages and crops—Return to Bukora—Tracy and I arrive—Save again 153—168

CHAPTER XII

SAVE TO LAKE RUDOLF WITH THE RUDOLF COLUMN

The start—Along the Turkwel—Over the Chemorongi Mountains—Ngaboto—North again along Turkwel—Ngamatak—Types of Turkana—Across a barren desert—Scarcity of water and grazing—Effect on transport—Lake Rudolf at last—Meet Turkana again—Satisfied ... ... 169—185

CHAPTER XIII

ALONG THE WESTERN SHORES OF RUDOLF

The water of the lake—The Turkana avoid us—Mount Lubur—A lucky find—The Marle—Lumian—The natives—The Turkana meditate an attack—Sanderson Gulf—Reach the Omo—Serious news regarding food—Return decided on—Back at Lumian—Markets started—Successful results—Alinakono's oratory—Family ties—South again along the lake—A small-pox case—In touch with the Turkana—The lake narrows—Reach the Turkwel ... ... 186—205

CHAPTER XIV

BACK TO THE BASE AT SAVE

Down the Turkwel—Doubt regarding Tracy's movements—Meet a Swahili trading caravan—'Tumbo'—Deceit of the Turkana—They attack us—Guerilla warfare for a week—Reach the Ngaboto district—Post occupied—Last issue of food made—A happy meeting—Tracy's supplies—Return to Save in three columns—Suk settlements—Marich—Part with Nyanga—Back at Save ... ... 206—221

CHAPTER XV

TRACY AT THE BASE, AND WITH RELIEF COLUMN

PAGE

His task—Work at Save—Proceeds to Karamojo—His markets—Meets Macdonald—Operates against the Wa-Sore—Food at Mbai exhausted—New markets—Native transport instituted—Troubles with the Wa-Ucia—Preparations for start of relief column—Sajjid Hussain—Tracy starts for Ngaboto—Meets the Rudolf column ... ... 222—230

CHAPTER XVI

MEETING WITH HEADQUARTERS IN BUKORA

Plans at Save—Wa-Sore again troublesome—Bright leaves for Mumia's—Tracy and I start for Bukora—After an elephant—Dabasien—Sad news of Kirkpatrick's murder—Push on with all speed—The Wa-Karamojo—Meet Macdonald—Return to Save—Ferguson's work at the base—The Wa-Sore again—Their punishment—Capture of Wembi ... ... 231—242

CHAPTER XVII

RETURN OF THE EXPEDITION TO MUMIA'S

Change in Macdonald's plans—The reasons—Arrangements for the return to the Uganda road—A new track to the Guas' Ngishu—An addition to our numbers—Christmas at the foot of Elgon—Overtaken by Macdonald—Back at Mumia's—News of further operations in Uganda—Meet part of the Uganda Indian contingent—Pereira and his Sudanese remain at Mumia's—Macdonald's plans ... ... 243—250

CHAPTER XVIII

MUMIA'S TO NGARE NYUKI ALONG THE UGANDA ROAD

The start from Mumia's—Meet Keene with portion of Indian contingent—On the Nandi plateau—Reach the post—The natives and country—More of the contingent—Mau summit—The Ravine station—Food arrangements with Major Eric Smith—Suicide of one of our Latuka Sudanese—The reason—Ngare Nyuki again ... ... 251—260

CHAPTER XIX

NGARE NYUKI TO MACHAKOS

PAGE

In the great meridional rift—The Masai again—Naivasha post—Sport on the lake shores—Charming surroundings—McLoughlin discovers an old crater—Off to Kikuyu—Evidences of civilization—Reach Fort Smith—Scarcity of Food—Hall's difficulties with native caravans—On the Athi—Reach Machakos—Changes ... ... 261—274

CHAPTER XX

THE RETURN TO THE COAST AND ENGLAND

Along the old 'safari' road to Nzawi—Effects of famine—Across country to the railway—March to Kiboko River—Sport *en route*—Wilson's arrangements—Trip up to railhead—Instructions from Macdonald—Whole expedition concentrated at Makindu—The move to the coast—Tragedy at Voi—Arrival at Mombasa—Paying off the men—On to Zanzibar—Presented to Sultan—Return to Mombasa and England ... ... 275—285

APPENDIX A

Review of mutiny operations by Colonel Macdonald ... 286—294

APPENDIX B

A reply to recent erroneous statements regarding the Mutiny 295—304

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

COLONEL J. R. L. MACDONALD, C.B., R.E. ...	... *Frontispiece*	
TZAVO RIVER	*To face page*	12
SUDANESE OF UGANDA RIFLES	,,	34
LUBWA'S FIGHT	,,	46
MAJOR HARRISON	,,	54
MOUNT DABASIEN	,,	74
MAIDENS ON VICTORIA NYANZA	,,	87
MAJOR SCOTT	,,	101
CAPTAIN MALCOLM	,,	112
MAJOR BARRATT	,,	130
MAJOR MCLOUGHLIN	,,	150
MAJOR AUSTIN	,,	170
CAPTAIN DUGMORE	,,	190
PURKISS—MASAI TROPHIES	,,	210
VIEW OF VICTORIA NYANZA	,,	232
KEDONG VALLEY	,,	268
MAP TO ILLUSTRATE WORK OF THE MACDONALD EXPEDITION, 1897-1899	*At end*	

WITH MACDONALD IN UGANDA

INTRODUCTION

WHILST employed on railway construction work in connection with the Hyderabad-Godavery railway at Secunderabad in June, 1897, I received a telegram from the Government of India asking me whether I felt disposed to accept an appointment on an expedition about to start from England for East Africa, under command of Major (now Colonel) Macdonald, R.E. I had previously served under Macdonald during the years 1890-91 on railway survey work across the Indian frontier—up the Kabul River, and subsequently in the Zhob Valley—and when that officer, towards the latter end of 1891, had been appointed Chief Engineer of the Preliminary Survey for the Uganda Railway, he very kindly offered me a post on his survey staff, which I accepted with alacrity. I knew well, therefore, the excellent qualities of my chief, and the fascinations of the country I was asked once more to visit, after an absence of close on five years, proved well-nigh irresistible. I felt, however, that my present Chief Engineer, Mr. G. P. Rose, who had obtained my services for the construction of a section of the Hyderabad-Godavery Railway, should have the final say in the matter, as my leaving at such short notice would, I feared, cause him much inconvenience. Mr. Rose most unselfishly agreed that if the appointment now offered me was likely to benefit

me from a purely military point of view, he would urge me to go; but that if, on the contrary, the work was likely to be of a civil nature alone, he considered it my duty to remain with him. We could get no details from Simla regarding the expedition, but thirty-six hours later I heard from Macdonald himself, who was then in England organizing the expedition. Although extremely guarded in his letter, I gathered that his brother was also going from India with some thirty Sikhs of the 14th and 15th Sikh regiments, and that the expedition was to be a military one. When I informed Mr. Rose of this fact he readily assented to my accompanying the expedition, and wired my acceptance to Simla. Thus it came about that I was once more to resume my acquaintance with the African continent, for which I had often sighed in vain when bored by the ordinary dull routine of a cantonment life in India. Latterly I had been thinking more than usual of our former African experiences, as Captain Pringle was also at this time in Secunderabad, and he and I had been closely associated together on the Survey for the Uganda Railway in 1891-92. After dinner we used frequently to recall that former life, which now seemed little more than a dim, far-off dream, and wonder if our lot would ever again be cast amongst the naked, but most interesting, tribes we had previously seen. When, therefore, one evening a telegram was handed to Pringle in the dusk, whilst we were discussing a soothing beverage in long chairs after a hot game of tennis, and he slowly began to read out with difficulty, 'Foreign—Department—ask—if—Lieutenant—Austin—R.E.—is—available—and—volunteers—for—service,' etc., I naturally thought he was trying to 'draw' me, and suggested the imitation was good, but not sufficiently genuine to deceive. It was not until the telegram was in my hand that I realized its *bonâ-fide* nature, and that the long-waited-for opportunity of visiting the old haunts had arisen. Mr. Rose having agreed, as already stated, to

my deserting him, I at once commenced making arrangements for the disposal of my effects. On June 13 I left Secunderabad for Bombay, arriving the following morning, and on the 15th Lieutenant Norman Macdonald reached Bombay from the Punjab. The Sikh contingent of one native officer and thirty N.C.O.'s and men did not arrive until the morning of the 18th, on which date we sailed for Aden in the British India boat *Canara*, commanded by Captain Stabb, R.N.R., who lately died during the siege of Ladysmith, in South Africa, when attached to the naval contingent. During the few days we were at Bombay, Macdonald and I had our hands pretty full, what with fitting ourselves out and superintending the embarkation of some 100 bullocks and buffaloes and twenty-five Indian carts, which we were taking out to East Africa to form part of the transport of the expedition. Major-General Sir William Gatacre, then commanding at Bombay, took considerable interest in the expedition, and on several occasions came down to the docks to see how the ship was being fitted up for the accommodation of the animals, gave us much sound advice, and inspected the Sikh detachment before we sailed for Aden. I have now briefly stated how the opportunity arose of my resuming my acquaintance with the Dark Continent, of which I was to see so much subsequently between the years 1897-1901.

CHAPTER I

THE START

On June 18, 1897, Lieutenant Macdonald and I, accompanied by one native officer and thirty N.C.O.'s and men of the 14th and 15th Sikhs, started on our journey from Bombay to Mombasa. As the monsoon had just burst, we encountered an extremely rough sea throughout the voyage to Aden, which, as usual, utterly prostrated me and rendered me incapable of taking a lively interest in anything. Our progress at times did not exceed five knots an hour, as Captain Stabb, the commander of the B.I.S.N. Company's s.s. *Canara*, was compelled to keep the forward hatches open, in order to give our wretched bullocks air and to lessen their chances of being suffocated by the heat between decks. Under the circumstances he was obliged to proceed slowly for fear of shipping big seas were he to drive through at the ordinary rate. For seven days there was not a single dry spot on the upper deck, and I have never welcomed the barren rocks of Aden so cordially as when we steamed into its inner harbour on the morning of June 28. Thanks to the careful arrangements made by Captain Stabb, in spite of the tempestuous nature of the crossing, we had only lost five bullocks by death, although five others succumbed to the great heat during our stay at Aden. Macdonald, with his Sikhs, was indefatigable in his attentions to our cattle, the watering and feeding of which was an unpleasant and difficult business owing to the playful antics of our little ship.

Shortly after reaching Aden the P. and O. s.s. *Peninsular*

was signalled from home, and on board her were Major Macdonald and the rest of his staff. We who had come from Bombay now learned for the first time something of the importance of the expedition from the fact that no less than six officers had come out from England with our Chief—viz., Captain E. M. Woodward, of the Leicestershire Regiment, second in command to Major Macdonald; two medical officers, Captains G. S. McLoughlin and J. D. Ferguson, of the R.A.M.C.; Lieutenant the Hon. A. Hanbury-Tracy, of the Royal Horse Guards; Lieutenant P. B. Osborn, of the Oxfordshire Light Infantry; and Lieutenant R. G. T. Bright, of the Rifle Brigade.

The following day the *Riwa* also arrived from England with Captain R. T. Kirkpatrick, of the Leinster Regiment, on board, and the bulk of the expedition stores and equipment. An enormous quantity of gear had to be transhipped to the *Canara*, therefore, before the voyage to Mombasa could be continued, and poor Captain Stabb was almost in despair at the amount he was expected to take on board in the shape of Maxims, arm-chests, ammunition, whale-boat, tools, instruments, waggons, and hundreds of bulky packing-cases besides. However, everything was eventually safely stowed away, and, with the whole expedition concentrated on board, the *Canara* left for Mombasa on July 1. During the next week we rapidly became acquainted with each other, for we were all strangers until a short time before, except the two Macdonalds and myself, the younger brother having been employed on the Kabul River Survey in 1890. Many details were arranged on board regarding the disembarkation of the expedition stores, etc., on arrival at Mombasa, and each of us was told off to take over charge of certain packing-cases, which expedited the sorting out and checking of the equipment on landing, and forwarding them by train to railhead.

Mombasa was reached by us on the morning of July 9

in a dense haze and amidst pouring rain, which much obscured the picturesque entrance to the harbour, so generously covered with graceful cocoa-nut palms extending almost to the water's edge. To facilitate the disembarkation of men, animals, and stores, the *Canara* proceeded up the Kilindini harbour, where we could avail ourselves of the lighters, jetties, cranes, etc., that had been constructed by the railway authorities for the landing of their materials, the terminus of the railway being on that side of the island. As we steamed up the harbour one could not help being struck by the numerous changes which had taken place since 1892. Many bungalows had sprung up in the vicinity of what was formerly the only building of any pretensions—the Administrator's bungalow at Kilindini—where we had spent several happy weeks in 1891, and again in 1892, under the hospitable roof of Mr. Ernest Berkeley.

On landing, we found the island intersected with trolley lines for the convenience of the officials and residents, whereas formerly one single line connected the Administrator's bungalow with Mombasa harbour. Now nearly every resident possessed his own trolley with a line up to his front-door, which, of course, necessitated a good deal of cutting and clearing away of the thick tropical growth; this in great measure detracts from the former picturesque appearance of the island, though it has doubtless converted it into a more healthy residence for Europeans. Cocoa-nut palms had to be ruthlessly hewn down to make room for the great Mombasa station, with its go-downs, workshops, offices, running sheds, etc., and it was almost difficult to recognise the old sleepy Mombasa of yore. Three hundred Indian Sepoys were now quartered on the island, under command of two old Indian friends of mine—Captain (now Major) Barratt, D.S.O., and Lieutenant (now Major) Scott, D.S.O.,—and still further large clearings had to be made for the construction of their barracks, parade-ground, etc.,

whilst cricket and recreation grounds had also been provided for the residents and railway officials. When I say that a charming little club had also sprung into being, not to mention a railway institute, and two or three small hotels, it will be at once evident that civilization in a few years had made rapid strides in this previously but little known or little cared for spot.

We were not destined for long to enjoy old memories, as there was much work before us in disembarking and checking all the equipment brought out from England prior to conveying it up to railhead, which was now some sixty-eight miles from the coast, in the middle of the Taru Desert. Captain Sclater, R.E., who had lately constructed a cart road from Kibwezi to the Victoria Nyanza, met us on arrival at Mombasa, and handed over to us all his carts, oxen, etc., which were up country near railhead, to assist in the transport of all the expedition stores to the point where it was decided that we were to leave the Uganda road near the Ravine station. He was looking wretchedly ill, but in spite of numerous warnings to proceed home at once, he most unselfishly decided to wait until he could personally inform Major Macdonald of all the arrangements he had made for the benefit of the expedition now about to start. This public-spirited devotion to what he considered was his duty unhappily proved fatal, and it was with real sorrow that we all heard some weeks later that he had succumbed to dysentery, whilst, I believe, at Zanzibar, shortly before he intended sailing for England.

On July 12 McLoughlin and I started from Mombasa for railhead with the advance portion of the expedition and half the Sikhs and cattle; but whilst he continued to the concentration camp decided on, I stopped at the roadway station at Samburu, where I had to pick up some of Sclater's carts under charge of Corporal Simmons, R.E. It was some days before I reached railhead, as I could get no trucks to

convey us and our belongings on; but Norman Macdonald passed through Samburu on the 14th and joined McLoughlin, and the following day I was at last able to continue the journey. On the 16th we started pitching the railhead camp, and unloading such equipment as had come up, whilst on the early morning of the 17th Woodward, Tracy, Osborn, and Bright arrived. They had been eighteen hours travelling sixty-eight miles, and were hungry, so we produced a dinner of sorts at 3 a.m., after which we rolled into our beds again.

Major Macdonald and Ferguson arrived that evening, and next day we commenced arranging and unpacking loads, putting the Indian carts together ready for the road, and so on. As all these carts had been taken to pieces at Bombay, and as no two were exactly the same size, it was a regular Chinese puzzle trying to fit together some twenty-five bodies, sides, shafts, and pairs of wheels, which had not been marked. The permutations and combinations of so many things taken at so many a time produced rather a terrifying result mathematically, but, I am happy to say, practically we got the carts ready by the trial and error method in a couple of days.

Our last consignment of goods from the coast, under charge of Kirkpatrick and some 120 porters, met with a most regrettable accident some sixteen miles from our railhead camp. Travelling at the rate of about forty miles an hour down a steep incline, the engine jumped the rails at the bottom of the dip just before commencing a rise on the other side. The whole train was overturned with the exception of the guard's van, in which Kirkpatrick was seated, and he was lucky enough to get off with a severe shaking. The porters, who were mostly riding on trucks loaded with rails and sleepers, were less fortunate, for three of them were killed, seven badly injured, and some twenty others more or less seriously so. As the accident occurred within a mile of one of the railway

hospital camps, the injured men obtained almost immediate attendance from a European hospital assistant stationed there. Apart from the serious nature of the accident, it placed the expedition at railhead in a most unpleasant position. We were in the centre of the Taru Desert, where no water was procurable, and we were entirely dependent on the railway for our daily supply, which was brought in tanks by the construction trains.

The railway was now blocked, and the nearest point we could draw water from was some seventeen miles distant, at the Taru pools, about a mile beyond the scene of the accident. Next morning, therefore, Macdonald sent Ferguson and me back by train to the scene of the wreck. We, fortunately, had an engine and an empty water-waggon or two on our side of the break in the line, so travelled down with fifty Swahilis, taking skins and buckets, and disembarked near the scene of the disaster. We transferred the water from one of the wrecked train tanks to one of ours, whilst a second one was filled with 1,300 gallons of water, after a long day's work, by sending men backwards and forwards with our water-skins to the Taru pools. About mid-day a relief train arrived from the Mombasa end with some of the railway engineers, who at once commenced to put in a diversion and clear the wreckage.

When Ferguson and I arrived at the railhead camp with water, about 7 p.m., we received a most enthusiastic welcome from the whole camp, as they had been without water all day. The porters went simply mad, and raised such a din, crowding round the train in hundreds, that it was some time before we could clear a way for unloading the water. Kirkpatrick had marched in his uninjured men from Taru during the day, and we had brought on six or seven of those only slightly hurt. Next day, fortunately, the diversion was completed, and we obtained water by train shortly after dark.

On Thursday, July 22, all preparations had been completed, and we made a start from the railway; but, as is almost invariably the rule, things did not get into proper working order for a day or two. The heavier Sclater carts under charge of Corporal Simmons had left the previous day, but had made most unsatisfactory progress, and we overtook them before Maungu Hill was reached, on the 23rd. The porters of the main body, some 320* in number, who had been enlisted at Zanzibar and Mombasa, were as yet in anything but good condition, and had scarcely learnt to know their officers, for whom they subsequently worked so splendidly and with such devotion, during a very critical period of the expedition.

The crossing of the Taru Desert in the earlier days of the British East Africa Company was always an undertaking fraught with a certain amount of anxiety, as no water usually exists between the Taru pools and an 'ungurunga,' or water-hole, on the highest peak of Mount Maungu—a distance of some thirty-five miles. We hoped now, however, that, as the railway had taken us half-way across the desert, we should have little difficulty regarding water. The new Mackinnon road followed a route that skirted the eastern slopes of this hill, and did not pass under the high peak of Maungu, as the old caravan track used to. When we reached the new camping-ground under the northern Maungu Hill, we found no water obtainable there, so parties had to be despatched some five miles distant to the old water-hole, which is 1,000 feet up on the hillside above the neck separating the two hills. The oxen drawing the carts had drunk no water since they left railhead, and as the Voi River was still seventeen miles distant, they were treated to half a bucket of water each and sent on again with the Sikhs and McLoughlin, whilst Corporal Simmons also followed with

* Subsequently this was increased to 450 by contingents sent up after us from the coast who were not yet ready.

his carts. They were ordered to proceed as far as possible before dark, and to push on in the early morning to the Voi, where it was hoped they would arrive before the heat became very great. As all the water was set aside for the animals, we had to await the return of the Maungu party until the late afternoon, when a small issue of precious water was made all round. During this issue, one of the porters came up to Major Macdonald with a rupee in one hand and a small gourd in the other, and offered him the money down for an extra ration of water sufficient to fill it. At our next camp there was no water, and again porters had to be sent three and a half miles to Ndara Hill to fetch it, so we were not sorry to reach the Voi River on the 25th and enjoy a much-needed wash.

A railway survey party, under Mr. Boothby, was camped on the Voi, and we enjoyed much hospitality from them; for, in spite of our large numbers, they insisted on lunching five of us and dining the other five. It was the same through every railway camp we passed; and although I have not space to enumerate the numerous railway officials who extended to us their hospitality during our journey up country, and again on our return to the coast, I trust that, should any of them be pleased to peruse these pages, they will not consider that their open-handed generosity was not appreciated by us all. We were restricted to pretty short commons ourselves, and enjoyed little in the way of luxuries, as must assuredly be the case when a big expedition starts off on a long journey, and anticipates an absence of perhaps two years, with little or no opportunity of replenishing stores, and has consequently to cut itself down to a minimum of necessities. Under the circumstances the sumptuous meals to which we were regaled by the railway officers naturally made a far greater impression than they would have done had we been living on a similar scale, and we were accordingly grateful.

From the Voi River we marched to the small Government station established at the foot of the Ndi Hills, and *en route* met Captain Madocks and Dr. Mackinnon, who were proceeding home on leave from Uganda. From them we were able to glean a certain amount of information regarding the escort of Sudanese troops who were to meet us at the Ravine station and accompany us on our further travels.

The day after we marched from Maungu to the camp east of Ndara Hill we came upon a somewhat quaint little Englishman, who rejoiced in the name of Billy. He was placidly seated on an empty little two-wheeled cart smoking a pipe, and apparently enjoying the waterless scenery, and looking for a job at the same time. Men occasionally pick up work in queer places, but Billy must have been surprised, I think, when our huge cavalcade turned up, and a job was offered him to carry a dozen loads or so to Mwani by Major Macdonald. Billy readily assented, and said that at the Tzavo River his partner, Ted, was also looking out for transport work, and would be glad to take on twenty or thirty additional loads for us in another little cart. Billy, poor man, seemed to have little or no food when we met him beyond his ' baccy,' so Ferguson, who was running the Headquarters mess, was asked by the Major to supply him with a few necessaries, such as tea, saccharine, jam, and biscuits. Although Billy needed little here below, what he did want he liked to be tip-top. When offered raspberry jam, he said he preferred strawberry, and liked any other biscuits we might have in preference to Marie. He couldn't ' abide ' saccharine, and was apparently much surprised to hear that we carried no sugar for our own consumption, despite its bulk.

For some time Tracy and I, when in charge of the heavy Sclater carts, were accompanied on the march by Ted and Billy, who caused us much amusement. To watch Ted, Billy, and their Swahili boy manipulate a steep drift with

A REACH OF THE TZAVO RIVER.

their carts and oxen fairly made one shudder at their fluency of language. The very oxen were staggered into making herculean efforts, as such weird and fearsome oaths could surely be no invention of mere mortal man; there was something supernatural and uncanny about it all, and they strove their utmost to reach level ground beyond, when all would be once more peace, and that torrent of abuse should cease to flow and persecute their ears. Juma, the factotum, did not know much English, but what he did was of a stirring nature—picked up from his masters—which, at all events, possessed this advantage, that the oxen seemed to understand and respond to it.

Ted was the gentleman, and a most entertaining one he could be, whilst Billy was the working partner. Ted was generally assisted by Juma, and often poor Billy could not make the camp by himself before night. On one occasion when we were camped together, Billy had not turned up when it was dark, and as he had all the food on his cart, we asked Ted to have a cut off the joint with us. From his account, Ted had led a most chequered career: starting life in the Army Medical Staff, he told us, he went through the Egyptian campaign as a sergeant, being present at the battle of Abu Klea, when Burnaby and Sir Herbert Stewart were killed, and also accompanied Sir Charles Wilson in the steamer which went to Gordon's rescue. Subsequently leaving the service, he tried his luck in America, Australia, South Africa, and had gradually worked north into East Africa, where he and Billy entered into partnership, and were now earning a precarious livelihood by carrying loads up country for Smith Mackenzie and other firms.

Billy turned up next morning, having sat up in his cart all night keeping lions at bay, which were sniffing round him and trying to bag his two oxen. As he only possessed an antiquated firearm, and not more than two or three cartridges for this weird weapon, I fancy his vigil must have

been an anxious one. It would not be easy, either, to obtain ammunition of the class necessary for his battery. The last we saw of Ted and Billy we had to relieve them of their loads, as out on the plains before we reached Mwani we found them seated on their carts with no oxen; these had been stampeded by lions during the night, and the faithful Juma had been despatched to round them up. Whether they were ever found again alive I do not know, nor what eventually became of Ted and Billy—they were no longer on the road when we returned to Mombasa early in 1899. It was a tough life these two Englishmen were leading, and though they often caused us considerable amusement in a good-natured way, one could not help feeling sorry that they should be compelled to live on a scale almost lower than that of our porters. However, they bore their trials philosophically and with equanimity, and I trust are both earning a livelihood in a more congenial and prosperous sphere.

CHAPTER II

NDI TO FORT SMITH

WHEN the whole expedition had arrived at Ndi, Major Macdonald considered it advisable to make some better arrangements for the supervision of the wheeled transport, as the progress of the heavier Sclater waggons under Corporal Simmons was not satisfactory, and appeared likely to delay the advance of the expedition. The light Indian carts brought from Bombay had proved a great success, as they could easily be man-handled by two or three men over exceptionally bad drifts. Two oxen yoked into the shafts could usually draw, at a fair pace, some fifteen loads over pretty well any ground, and the Sikh Sepoys, who during this period were utilized as bullock drivers, were more or less familiar with the work, which they seemed to enjoy as a change from ordinary regimental routine. We found the larger Sclater carts, which were supposed to be capable of carrying fifty loads drawn by a yoke of ten oxen, to be much overloaded, as the animals were not equal to drawing anything like so heavy a load along the existing road, the grades to and from the numerous drifts being beyond the power of the oxen. Corporal Simmons, also, at this time was prostrated with fever and incapable of much work.

The expedition, therefore, was divided into three columns, and moved more or less independently of each other. Major Macdonald and the majority of his officers, accompanied by the porters and donkey transport, formed the main body, whilst Norman Macdonald and Bright were

placed in charge of the Indian carts and Sikhs, and Tracy and I took over charge of the Sclater carts.

Before continuing from Ndi, Tracy and I reduced the loads of the larger waggons from fifty to between thirty and forty loads apiece, and stored the surplus 167 loads in the Ndi post, to be brought on subsequently in other carts by Corporal Brodie, R.E., who also belonged to Captain Sclater's road-making party. Even with the reduced weights our future progress was destined to be of a most laborious nature, and I have seldom felt so light-hearted and relieved as when we eventually reached the concentration camp at Ngare Nyuki on September 16, and realized that our worries with these carts were at an end. Between Ndi and Kibwezi, more especially, the road is traversed at frequent intervals by drifts, and the days that we spent in our efforts to get the 'show' along were well-nigh exasperating. Thirteen hours on the road to accomplish an eight to ten mile march was by no means unusual, and the incessant but, unfortunately, very necessary 'basting' of the wretched oxen in negotiating drifts, with all hands helping in addition on the wheels of each cart in succession, was to me about as nauseating a business as I had up to that time indulged in. There was something so pathetic in the eyes of the weary oxen straining their utmost to draw the lumbering carts along that I, at times, would walk away to one side, disgusted with myself at taking a hand in licking the unfortunate brutes in my anxiety to keep in touch with the main body on ahead. Tracy, too, felt it just as much as I did, and came to the conclusion that it was about as inhuman a sport as he cared to undertake.

The fact was that the carts were far too heavy and cumbersome for the nature of the road we were travelling along, except for teams of powerful and well-trained oxen who would pull together. There were not more than two or three of the drivers, at the outside, who knew how to handle

teams of ten and twelve oxen, the result being that when we were not everlastingly stuck up in drifts, even on a level road two or three of the waggons would be pretty certain to run foul of tree-stumps at the side of the track, thus blocking the road for all the carts behind, and necessitating the calling up of all the askaris to man-handle the waggon clear of the obstacle. It must be understood that the country traversed between the coast and Kibwezi is mostly thickly wooded with thorn-trees, and bush, through which a narrow clearing has been cut for the passage of waggons, and that if one waggon was athwart the track none of those in rear could pass round it. Ted and Billy were our chief solace ; sometimes, when we felt exasperated to such a pitch that it would have been a pleasure to do something desperate, our attention was diverted by some quaint remark of either the one or other which would send us into a roar of laughter, despite our fury.

In due course we reached the Kibwezi mission station on August 9, and here found that Major Macdonald was seriously ill with fever and an attack of gastritis. He was accommodated by Mr. Russell (one of the East Africa officials) in his house, and McLoughlin was in medical attendance. The Indian carts had proceeded to Mwani Station, whilst the main body of the expedition, under Woodward, were halted at Mto Makindu, some seventeen miles beyond Kibwezi. Macdonald was looking wretchedly weak and thin, and suffered from such severe vomitings and pains that McLoughlin was compelled to administer hypodermic injections of morphia to get him off to sleep at all. One of the waggons was fitted up for our Chief as a cabin for his camp-bed, etc., when he was sufficiently convalescent to travel.

We halted at Kibwezi for two days, and on the 11th marched to Mount Bwinzau, Macdonald following in a hammock in the afternoon, and at once turning into his bed

in the waggon, as he was much exhausted. The next day we started off at 3.30 a.m., Macdonald remaining in his waggon, as the country was less rough now, and becoming more open and free from the perpetual bush which had haunted us the whole way up from the coast. The road was no longer cut up by numerous nullahs, but rose gradually through grassy glades, so our waggons covered the twelve miles in about six hours—our record up to date!

The main body remained at Mto Makindu on the 13th to give the Major every chance for a speedy convalescence, after which he travelled for some days in a hammock, until he gradually recovered sufficient strength to walk again. Up to this time none of us had enjoyed any shooting beyond partridges, bush-fowl, guinea-fowl, and other birds, as the close nature of the country hitherto traversed offered little opportunity for following game whilst on the march. Here, at Makindu, however, game was plentiful, consisting of hartebeeste, wildebeeste, impalah, zebra, ostriches, and a few lions and rhinos, which afforded the officers of the main body considerable sport.

On the 13th Tracy and I continued our journey with the carts. As the country had become more open now, we decided to march by night, taking advantage of the moon, for the cattle travelled far better at that time than during the heat of the day. There was something weird and ghostly in these nocturnal tramps over rolling plains. By the pale light of the moon we could discern moving forms on all sides of us, as animals appeared more curious and confiding than in the broad light of day, and would stand and gaze in wonder at this unlooked-for intrusion. The zebra were there in hundreds, and would stare in amazement until we approached quite close, when, with their curious half-bark, half-whistle, cry of alarm, they would disappear into the gloom, the thunder of their hoofs on the dry, hard soil being magnified, midst all this stillness, into the likeness of a

distant receding storm. Every now and again we would also see fiery eyes peering at us out of the darkness, and would know that the skulking, cowardly hyena in his gruesome prowl had perhaps been disturbed whilst devouring some filthy carcass, and was slinking away, only to return again as soon as his mortal enemy, man, had passed. The grandest, the most awe-inspiring, the most tremendous voice on earth issues from the throat of that king of beasts, the lion. It is difficult to describe that mighty roar bursting out into the silence of night, and seeming to shake the very ground beneath one. It makes one feel petty, insignificant, of no account, when his majesty voices his satisfaction at having dined well on some poor unsuspecting antelope, which has allowed itself to fall under the clutches of that ponderous paw. The men huddle together ; a deathly stillness follows ; there is a catch in one's breath, and it is with a sense of relief a whisper, perhaps, of ' Simba shiba ' (' The lion is satiated ') arises, and conversation again gradually resumes its flow. Lions hereabouts are plentiful, one camp—two marches from Makindu—being known as Kampi ya Simba (' Camp of lions '); and there, shortly after we unyoked the oxen at midnight on August 14, one of our sentries fired at a lion which approached our cattle too closely to be innocent of evil intention.

On arrival at Mwani, on August 16, Tracy and I found Norman Macdonald and Bright awaiting the advent of the main body, who joined us next day, the whole expedition being united again for the first time since Ndi was left on July 29. From Mwani we passed through undulating park-land until we reached Kilima Kiu (' The hills of thirst '), over which Sclater had made a waggon track leading out on to the open Athi plains beyond. The main body had obtained some good shooting, and several rhinos were bagged between Mwani and Kiu ; but we who followed with the heavier carts saw little or no game, as they had been driven further

afield. Once out on to the open plains, progress with the carts was more enjoyable, and we led the line of march from Kiu to Bondoni, where we saw a considerable amount of game. I went off with my gun-bearer, Mwinyaheri, who was one of our porters in 1891-92 on the railway survey, and was stalking some hartebeeste up a small valley running into the hills, when he seized my arm, whispering, 'Bwana fau—fau!' ('Master, a rhino'); and sure enough there was one of these beasts trotting steadily towards me from the foot of the hills. He, unfortunately, got my wind—they are as blind as bats—and led me a fine dance for a couple of miles without giving me a chance of a shot before he disappeared at a common canter over the plains.

Later he appeared at the head of the carts, where Tracy and Simmons treated him to several shots, which apparently so bewildered him that he trotted down the line only fifty or sixty yards from the track. As he passed me I let drive with my magazine three or four times, but, little disconcerted, he continued his career along the line until he arrived opposite the main body in rear. Here he was treated to a regular fusillade, which proved too much for him, and he gracefully collapsed. By virtue of our first shots we claimed the victim, so our column indulged in a real substantial gorge off rhino that night, the first they had hitherto enjoyed.

On arrival at Bondoni we met Cavendish and Andrew on their way to the coast, after a most interesting journey from Berbera round the western shores of Lake Rudolf, and so into East Africa. Major Macdonald purchased some fifty Somali camels from Cavendish to utilize on our further journey. Captain (now Major, D.S.O.) Harrison, of whom we were later to see so much, and who rendered such splendid service during the Sudanese Mutiny, we also met for the first time with Cavendish at Bondoni.

Travelling over the Athi plains, we reached the river of that

name on August 24, and halted the following day in perhaps one of the best shooting-grounds in East Africa. Game was very abundant on both banks of the river, but more so on the left bank, which at that time, as far as Kikuyu, was recognised as a reserve on which no shooting was permitted. The Athi has always been noted for its sport, as, in addition to many different kinds of antelope, rhinos, hippos, ostriches, lions, and leopards are also plentiful. Recently Harrison from Machakos had constructed a small post on the left bank of the Athi, which was subsequently occupied by another officer, who, during his six weeks' residence there had encountered such a series of extraordinary experiences that he dubbed the spot 'Adventure Camp.'

The following are some of the incidents that I was told (I do not vouch for their veracity, and merely give them as I jotted them down in my diary at the time, after they had been related to me) had occurred during his occupation: 'On the first night that this officer slept in the post the place was attacked by lions, one of whom cleared the high thorn fence, seized a cow, and made off with it in his mouth. On another occasion a lion at night pursued a zebra right into the boma, and in attempting to jump the thorn fence got hung up on it. The sentries poured volleys into the animal, but he escaped, to all appearances, scot-free. Again, a lion seized an ox, which he dragged through the thorn fence, and proceeded to devour it only a few yards outside. Guided only by his growls, the officer fired some sixteen shots into the darkness with a Snider, and next morning found the lion lying dead with eight of the sixteen bullets in him. Useful night operations! Now a rhino story. Two Wa-Kikuyu (natives of Kikuyu) were killed by a rhino on the top of the ridge overlooking the Athi, and information to this effect was brought in to the officer, who, seeing the animal some 1,000 yards distant, opened long-range fire on the brute. The latter, without a moment's hesitation, turned his atten-

tion to the boma, which he promptly charged down on with great dash and fury. The officer continued to fire on the approaching pachyderm, but only at the last moment succeeded in killing it, the beast dropping dead within three yards of the thorn fence.'

I had an opportunity of watching a lion stalking a hartebeeste during our halt on the Athi, and was much interested in his movements, as I was also stalking him in turn. He was an enormous great brute, the largest I had seen, and I much coveted that splendid skin. We were both disappointed—the lion failed to secure the hartebeeste, and I failed to bag the lion, though I could have easily brought down the hartebeeste, who was 'all eyes' for the lion, and paid little attention to me. I now learned what I had often heard before—that a lion, despite his great bulk, can disappear in short grass that one would imagine could scarcely conceal a hare. This one did. Next day Tracy and I had a long but fruitless hunt after four lions that we detected out on the plains. They were as cunning as foxes in the way they doubled back on their tracks, and it was some time before either of us could get a shot at them, dodging about in the bush on the banks of the river. Eventually I let drive at one with my ·303, to which he answered with an angry snarl, showing his teeth and lashing his tail. It was only for a moment, though, and before I could get another shot he was gone. Then the other three jumped up out of a nullah one after the other, and Tracy and I both fired, but we failed to bag any of them, and they went off. We hunted them for a long time, but never came across them again.

The main body enjoyed considerable sport before we reached the Athi, and Major Macdonald and Kirkpatrick had an exciting beat after lions quite close to camp; but they met with no better luck than we had, and it was not until we reached Lake Nakuru that the first lion was bagged by the expedition. This was secured by Kirkpatrick, who dropped

one stone dead with a snap shot, the bullet entering the animal's brain and killing it instantaneously.

We continued to Fort Smith in Kikuyu on the afternoon of the 26th, the Headquarter column marching for that place on the previous day. As it was a heavy uphill pull of some eighteen miles to Nairobi, on the outskirts of the Kikuyu Forest, we decided to make an afternoon march with the carts, and push on again early next morning, for we feared the oxen were incapable of making this long march—one of the hottest in all East Africa—between sunrise and sunset. Fort Smith was reached by us on August 28, and here again the whole expedition remained concentrated for a time. McLoughlin, who on the Athi complained of feeling far from well, now showed undoubted symptoms of typhoid, and was immediately provided with accommodation inside the fort by Lane, then in charge, during the absence of Hall, the Commandant. The latter had lately proceeded to the Ravine station with a large body of Wa-Kikuyu, carrying some 1,000 loads of flour to be stored there for the use of the expedition against its arrival. It was some weeks before McLoughlin was convalescent, and he should then, perhaps, have proceeded home to England; but on hearing of the outbreak of the mutiny, although scarcely able to walk, he travelled to Lubwa's, the scene of the fighting, with Captain Meldon, who was on his way to take up an appointment in the Uganda Rifles. Here these two officers arrived during a most critical period, and subsequently distinguished themselves greatly throughout the operations. I am happy to say that in course of time McLoughlin entirely recovered his pristine health and energy, and was of great assistance to our Chief during the later phases of the expedition.

On approaching Fort Smith old memories kept crowding in on one; the formerly familiar Kikuyu salutation from the natives, who greeted us as we passed with 'Neu horo ?' ('How are you ?'), to which one replies, 'Nim wega umno' ('I

am very well'), seemed but of yesterday, instead of five years ago. The same greasy hands were held out as of yore to clasp the white man's hand, and everything was very sociable and pleasant, whilst the all-pervading odour of cow's fat with which the natives generously smear themselves had lost little of its savour! As one sauntered round the interior of the fort, the forms of Major Eric Smith and Purkiss arose before one, as when we first entered Fort Smith in March, 1892; the strolls that Twining and I used to indulge in along the banquette; the return from the Guru Guru punitive expedition, and the subsequent attack by the Kikuyu chieftain Wyaki on Purkiss. Enemies in life, Purkiss and Wyaki sleep peacefully together their long sleep now, side by side in the Kibwezi Mission. The events that were recalled to me now are all ably described by Major Macdonald in his 'Soldiering and Surveying in British East Africa,' and need no further allusion by me. The old charm of glorious fresh English vegetables, grown on the estate, still clung to Fort Smith, and as Hall had instituted a custom that all travellers passing through Kikuyu were expected to take their meals in the fort, we enjoyed the luxury of peas, broad beans, carrots, cauliflower, and splendid new potatoes, and excellent mutton—sheep being a speciality of the country, and very different from the ordinary lean 'safari' (caravan) overdriven goat or sheep one has generally to subsist on when marching. Kikuyu had broken all previous records in East Africa shortly before we arrived, as recently two English babies had been born there, and were thriving uncommonly well, too; so, although the much-talked-of settlers did not appear particularly inclined to till the soil, they had made a good start in another direction regarding colonization.

Having enumerated the above fact, it is almost unnecessary for me to state that Kikuyu had increased beyond all recognition since former days. Broad roads and rows of

huts, a large bazaar, and bungalows for the European community, had sprung up, whilst both Messrs. Smith Mackenzie and Boustead Ridley and Co. had stores and agents stationed there, and anything, from a darning-needle to a saddle, could be purchased. Few places are more popular with the Swahalis than Kikuyu, as here the inner man can be fortified with many luxuries denied them elsewhere. The generous soil produces all sorts of cereals, whilst sweet potatoes, sugar-cane, honey, and so on, are readily obtainable from the natives, who crowded round our camp in hundreds all day during our stay. I do not propose describing the natives nor the country, as they have already been so frequently written about that it would merely become a repetition of already well-known facts. At the same time, I personally felt most pleased to meet natives again in large numbers, as they afford an endless source of interest to my mind. The new waggon road from the coast had brought us through almost entirely uninhabited—or very sparsely so—country, avoiding all the hilly and picturesque tracts the old 'safari' track ran through, such as Nzawi, Kilungu, and Machakos, where the Wa-Kamba used to live in large villages; and even at Kibwezi comparatively few natives were seen. The Wa-Kikuyu, consequently, were almost the first natives we met in any numbers whom we had previously seen during 1891-92.

During our halt at Fort Smith much had to be done before the expedition could proceed again. One of the most exhilarating occupations was trying to break in oxen (of which several hundred had been received for the expedition from Mr. John Ainsworth at Machakos) to pack-work like donkeys. They caused some excitement and no little alarm in their frantic efforts to part company with their saddle and loads. They required plenty of room when they proceeded to object, and they generally got it.

To look after a large number of commissariat oxen, goats,

and sheep on the line of march Major Macdonald enlisted, through the kind services of Hall, some forty Masai at Kikuyu. Although the Wa-Kikuyu and Masai were formerly bitter enemies and constantly at warfare with each other, thanks to the efforts of the Government officials, peace had been established between these two warlike races, and large numbers of the latter had been allowed to settle down in the heart of the Kikuyu country, in the neighbourhood of Fort Smith. It was an entirely new experiment to ask these warriors to accompany an expedition for a long service of over a year away from their own country and surroundings, but it proved a most successful one. Forty Masai were with little trouble obtained on promise of being rewarded at the termination of their service with cattle, goats, and sheep, and they subsequently proved most invaluable on the line of march. Being bred and brought up from their earliest infancy amongst herds and flocks, they thoroughly understood these animals. The way in which they drove large numbers of them through the thickest bush country, keeping up with the column and never losing even a single goat, was little short of marvellous. So well did they know by sight every single goat or sheep after the first day or two, that if even one or two had by any chance been left in a dense clump of bush, their absence was at once detected as soon as more open ground was reached, and they were quickly rounded up from amongst the bushes, under which they were probably taking shelter from the great heat of the sun.

CHAPTER III

FORT SMITH TO NGARE NYUKI

A MOST imposing exodus was made from Kikuyu on September 2 by the entire expedition, and up to that time, perhaps, never such a huge number of loads had been transported out of Fort Smith at one and the same time. We were carrying close on 2,000. The order of march instituted was as follows: The main body left first, accompanied by over 400 porters, after which came the pack animals, consisting of 90 donkeys, 150 bullocks, and 52 camels. Then the younger Macdonald's caravan of 25 Indian carts joined in the train, whilst Tracy and I brought up the rear with our 14 Sclater carts and waggons. The whole neighbourhood had lined the road to watch this formidable array depart, as never before had such a sight been seen in Kikuyu, the line of march extending some two to three miles in length. The first day only five miles were marched; but next day the main body and the Indian carts had negotiated the ascent to the summit of the Kikuyu escarpment, and the steep descent the other side into the Kedong Valley. The oxen of the heavier carts were done by the time we reached the edge of the plateau (7,100 feet above sea-level), and we were compelled to camp without water, as the animals were unequal to further effort. This mattered little, as a terrific thunderstorm, accompanied by a heavy tropical downpour of rain, broke over the small area in which the whole expedition was gathered together. The thunder and lightning were truly appalling in their proximity, and although we on the

summit escaped unscathed, Major Macdonald was less fortunate at the foot of the escarpment, as one of his porters was struck by lightning and killed instantaneously.

The following day we accomplished the steep descent of some 1,500 feet into the Kedong, whilst the main body and Indian carts continued their march to the Upper Kedong camp, some eight miles further on. We were somewhat handicapped, as four of our waggons possessed no brake arrangements, so, when the remainder had been taken down, men had to be sent back to man-handle these down. During this operation one of the drivers got the first finger of his right hand horribly jammed in the wheels of his waggon. I heard him utter a most gruesome scream of pain, and when I went up to see what was the matter, he held out his hand, which nearly made me sick. Half of his finger had been literally rubbed away by friction with the wheel, whilst the remainder of it was dreadfully lacerated, exposing the bone the whole way down. Tracy and I did it up as best we could, but I felt sure it would have to be amputated, so sent some men on with this unfortunate individual and a letter to Ferguson (with the main body), who carried out, with the assistance of Osborn, the necessary operation.

Pushing up the Kedong Valley, we saw no Masai, as formerly in 1892, but the track passed close to the curious outcrop of rock which I remembered so well, and which had made a great impression on me at the time. When generations of Masai inhabited this valley they were in the habit of daily driving their flocks to water in the stream near by, passing backwards and forwards *en route* over this rock. The result is that in course of time six or seven parallel grooves became worn out in the surface of the rock, varying in depth from 6 to 18 inches and perhaps from 1 to 2 feet wide, formed entirely by the hoofs of countless cattle, goats, sheep, and donkeys.

We met Hall and Fielding also on this day. The former

I had not seen since September, 1892, when he first came out to East Africa, and was proceeding up country with a donkey caravan, and we ran across him at Ndi on our return journey to the coast. Since then he had spent the greater part of his life in command of the Government post at Fort Smith, but had lately been mauled, first by a rhino and subsequently by a leopard. The latter damaged him so badly about the knee that he very narrowly escaped losing his leg, which he refused to have amputated, and, extraordinary to relate, did not die, but recovered partially, although he had a stiff knee to the end of his life. To my great grief, when again in East Africa in August, 1901, I heard of the death of poor old Hall. Fort Smith had been abandoned, and he was opening out a new district at the foot of Mount Kenia, when he succumbed to dysentery, attended by his heroic wife. Perhaps few ladies have in so short a time experienced such a succession of blows as poor Mrs. Hall. Within a year she lost her father, a brother—Russell, to whom I have already alluded, one of the cheeriest and most jovial men I have ever met—and finally her husband. Hall was not married at the time I am now writing about, but on our return journey to the coast, early in 1899, we found Mrs. Hall installed in Fort Smith, where she was simply adored by the Wa-Kikuyu for her bright, happy, and winning characteristics.

Hall was now returning to Fort Smith after having deposited a large supply of food for the expedition at the Ravine station, and was accompanied by an army of 800 or 900 Wa-Kikuyu, who had carried loads for him. Fielding I had lately been stationed with at Karachi, where his regiment was quartered, and little thought when I said goodbye to him that in less than six months we should be foregathering again at lunch in the Kedong Valley. He was now with a company of the Uganda Rifles at the Ravine, and was destined to be the first English officer killed during the

mutiny, at that critical fight on the top of Lubwa's Hill on October 19, 1897, when the fate of Uganda hung in the balance.

It is unnecessary for me to enter into any description of the country traversed, as so many accounts have already appeared of the road from Mombasa to Uganda, and we were still on the beaten track. It was a pleasure, however, to travel over easy grades in the great Meridional rift, free from thorn and bush, and when the whole expedition had reached Lake Naivasha, we, who had seen this beautiful sheet of water before, felt that it had lost little of its former charm and attraction. One fact, however, struck us somewhat forcibly, and that was the increase in the size of this little lake, which had encroached at least 400 yards nearer to the low rocky scarp on the eastern side than in 1892. Since that date a post had been constructed by Major Eric Smith on this ridge, overlooking the lake, and was now occupied by Mr. J. P. Wilson, one of the Uganda officials who in the early days of the British East Africa Company was in Uganda with Lugard and Williams, and from him Major Macdonald obtained some additional fifty donkeys for transport purposes.

During our halt the Sikhs were instructed in the use of the Maxims, which were fired at floating objects on the lake; porters were provided with khaki clothing, jerseys, rifles, accoutrements, etc., and duck-shooting expeditions were organized in the small Berthon boat in the evenings. Waterfowl were extremely plentiful, but without the services of the boat it was difficult to retrieve those birds which had been shot from the margin of the lake, and were floating about on the surface some distance from land. About 2.30 a.m. one morning whilst here I was awaked by someone calling into my tent 'Captain, Captain!' and on arousing myself found it was Corporal Simmons, who had come to inform me that a hippo was sauntering about on land quite

close to our tents, where the waggons were parked. Taking up my double 12-bore rifle, whilst Simmons seized his Martini, I tumbled out of my tent, and there, sure enough, within 30 yards of us, was the brute, peacefully browsing in the moonlight, under the rays of which we could see his huge wet back glistening. He formed a good mark, but we could not see our foresights clearly, and he only exposed his stern to our view, as he was feeding down towards the water's edge. It was bitterly cold, so, after waiting some time for a better shot, without success, we decided to rake him on the chance of dropping him. We let drive simultaneously, but he managed to get into the water and disappeared, although next morning we found the grass where he had been standing stained with blood. In spite of the loud report of our two rifles in the silence of the night, it did not wake any of the other officers in camp! I was thankful, as I scarcely expected to be blessed for disturbing beauty sleeps somewhere before 3 a.m.

We learnt from Wilson that the Masai flocks and herds were suffering from cattle plague between the Morendat River and Kampi Mbaruk, near Lake Elmenteita, scores of these animals dying daily, and that if we valued the lives of our bullocks it would be advisable to traverse the infected area without permitting them to graze. This necessitated a forced march of some thirty-two miles with the ox-waggons from Naivasha. Norman Macdonald and Bright left with the Indian carts on September 8, whilst the main body and our heavier carts followed next day. The main body marched through to the Gilgil River (ten miles), but we halted during the heat of the day to give the oxen a final graze. We pushed on in the afternoon, marched through the main body camp, and continued by moonlight towards Elmenteita until midnight. It was bitterly cold that night, and we were not sorry to turn in as we stood at 1 a.m. Off again at 5.30 next morning, we reached the Kariandus camp

overlooking Lake Elmenteita shortly after nine, and a mile or two further on met Dr. Moffat and Major Ternan on their way to the coast from Uganda. Moffat, whom I had previously known in 1892, when in medical charge of the Kibwezi Mission, was now looking after Ternan, who was proceeding home sick. The main body subsequently met these two officers, who stopped at the camp for some time.

We reached Kampi Mbaruk on the evening of the same day, and there found Norman Macdonald and Bright expecting us. The main body arrived the following morning, and also Mr. F. J. Jackson, from the Ravine station, which he was shortly leaving to take up the appointment of Acting-Commissioner in Uganda, vice Major Ternan, who had been officiating up till now, during the absence of Mr. Ernest Berkeley, C.B., at home. I was delighted to meet my old friend Jackson again, as we had not seen each other for more than four years, when we were at home after the railway survey, on which he had been with us for some time before being invalided from Kibwezi.

I had received many hints from this hunter of renown when he travelled with us in 1891, and I was to learn yet another before the sun went down. Towards evening we strolled down to the margin of Lake Elmenteita to secure a few ducks for the pot. I stalked a flock of some twenty or thirty of these birds quietly feeding on the sand near the water's edge, and fired into the 'brown,' knocking over a few. Jackson, who had been watching, now came up with a 'tip,' which I have found most useful since. 'Just as you are ready to shoot,' said he, 'whistle; then the ducks will all raise their heads, and if you let drive at once you will bag many more. Try it.' I have—with good results.

On September 13 we reached Lake Nakuro; but during the afternoon, whilst the main body were enjoying an exciting lion hunt on a low hill overlooking the lake, Kirkpatrick securing a splendid lion and Jackson a lioness, the Indian

carts and ourselves pushed further on some six miles, to reduce the long, waterless march to the Molo River. Both columns camped together on the Molo River, which we crossed by a bridge on September 15, and the following day Ngare Nyuki was reached, and our mission with the carts at an end. We had joined the main body now, and as a complete reorganization of the expedition into three columns (unaccompanied by wheel transport) for further work north was about to be made, Ngare Nyuki (the red stream) had been decided upon as the concentration camp, at which we were to leave the Uganda road. I may incidentally mention that the equator runs through the camp we were now settled at, and here it was that the first signs of that great struggle, which none of us at that time could possibly have anticipated or foreseen, made themselves manifest.

Jackson had proceeded to the Ravine station, some eight miles distant, but was to return on the morrow with Dr. J. S. Macpherson, the medical officer in charge there, who was to accompany the expedition in place of McLoughlin, left behind at Fort Smith. An immense amount of work had to be done at our base of operations before further progress could be embarked upon, and from morning until night all officers were employed in the multifarious duties incidental to the complete equipment of three separate and more or less independent columns now being organized.

No. 1 Column, under my immediate command, was to consist of some 300 men, accompanied by 38 camels and 105 donkeys for transport purposes, and 50 oxen and 100 goats and sheep for commissariat. In addition to many other loads, numbering close on 300, some 229 loads of flour, etc., were carried for the consumption of the men. Tracy, Osborn, and Ferguson were the other officers of this column. No. 2 Column, under command of Norman Macdonald, assisted by Bright, was to be a light flying column of some 200 men and a few transport animals; whilst No. 3, or the Headquarter

Column, the largest and most important one, was under the immediate command of our Chief, assisted by Woodward Kirkpatrick, and Macpherson. The details regarding numbers, loads, etc., I have, unfortunately, no records of; but perhaps this is of little account, for, as will be seen, unavoidable changes had to be made in these two columns, due to the attitude of the Sudanese troops, and No. 1 Column was the only one that proceeded as originally constituted, with the exception that some sixty-nine Sudanese, who were to have accompanied it, deserted *en masse* at Njemps.

On September 17 the first contingent of ninety-two Sudanese arrived from the Ravine, after having been ordered no less than three times by Jackson to join us. On the 19th others arrived, and by the 20th the remainder of the 330 men, with the exception of some 113, who were still on the road under charge of Bilal Amin, and were expected shortly. I have met many people who are still under the impression that the mutiny was caused by Macdonald refusing to allow the Sudanese women to accompany their husbands. In reply I can only state the fact that on September 20, the day before my column started, I received orders to ration the women accompanying me on the same scale as the men. It was only at the earnest request of Mabruk Effendi, their senior native officer, that Macdonald agreed to leave the women behind at first, until a relief convoy, which was subsequently to be sent back for more supplies, should bring the women on to their husbands. This decision was not arrived at until the evening, when we had to call in again the food issued to the women. Until 9.30 that evening was Macdonald palavering and discussing all details with the native officers, with no thought for dinner, which we were all simply dying to begin on, as 6.30, or 7 at latest, was our usual dining hour in camp. Yet people who knew not our Chief at all, and had never worked with him, accused him of being hasty, unsympathetic, and inconsiderate in his

SUDANESE OF THE UGANDA RIFLES ON THE MARCH, 1897.

dealings with natives! We always used to say he erred far too greatly on the other side, and thought too much about conciliating naked savages and palavering with them, somewhat to the detriment of his white officers, who quite understood that there would be no forward move on the march, although it might be pouring with rain, and that any meal must be deferred until the question under discussion had been satisfactorily and completely settled. Any officer who has worked under Macdonald will bear the same testimony, and I merely mention this fact lest it should be thought that I am evincing undue adulation and displaying a partisan spirit with regard to my Chief. If anybody should know Macdonald, surely I should do so, seeing that I have been closely associated with him for some twelve years, under all sorts of conditions. Ask the Waganda, Pathans across the Indian border, or, in fact, any natives who have had dealings with him, and I am prepared to stake the answer will be the same from all—'Just, honourable, dealing fair by all; slow to anger, but swift to strike, and that right heavily, when occasion demands.'

CHAPTER IV

THE SUDANESE MUTINY

On September 20, 1897, there were in the camp at Ngare Nyuki some 36 Sudanese of No. 4 Company, 92 of No. 7 Company, and 89 of No. 9 Company of the Uganda Rifles —217 in all, under command of Mabruk Effendi, Captain of No. 4 Company, the senior native officer present. Detachments under Jardin Effendi, consisting of about 55 men, and 58 others under Bilal and Suliman Effendi, were still on the road, and had not yet reached the Ravine station. The question regarding the women having apparently been satisfactorily arranged, these were sent back to the Ravine at the request of Mabruk Effendi. Various grievances were brought before Macdonald by deputations of native officers and men, and were all fully entered into and settled, so far as lay in the power of our Chief, during the long interview on the evening of the 20th. The questions raised need not be entered into by me here, as these have all been fully dealt with in the published reports of Mr. Jackson and Mr. Berkeley, who was deputed to inquire into the causes of the mutiny, which appear in the Africa No. 10 (1898) Blue-Book. At the close of the interview the men returned to their camps, apparently satisfied at such arrangements as had been made for themselves and their families.

Some sixty-nine men of No. 7 Company were to march with my column next day, whilst on the 22nd No. 2 Column was to follow with No. 9 Company, and No. 4 Company was to act as escort for No. 3 Column, and march with it on the 23rd.

The immediate objective of the three columns, following each other at a day's interval, was Marich, in the Suk country, where further movements would in due course be decided upon. On the 21st my column marched off without any hitch, the Sudanese working well both on the road and in camp until we reached the Guaso Rongei on the 24th, when ten men were found missing at the evening muster. The remaining fifty-nine, however, deserted *en masse* at Njemps on the 26th, when they obtained an inkling of the defection of the other companies, apparently from Masai runners, who brought a note for me from Major Macdonald, informing me of the fact.

When No. 2 Column was about to start, on the morning of the 22nd, No. 4 Company refused to march; but on Major Macdonald ordering them himself to do so, they proceeded, although on that same evening all deserted with the exception of one section. When the Headquarter Column was about to march, on the 23rd, intelligence was received by the Major from his brother that the bulk of No. 9 Company had deserted during the night. Whilst Major Macdonald was absent informing Jackson of this fact, Mabruk Effendi, with the rear-guard of No. 4 Company, bolted into the bush, and the men raised their rifles at Kirkpatrick and Macpherson when these officers tried to stop them. Kirkpatrick was therefore sent off post-haste to warn Fielding at the Ravine station of what had taken place, and to try and induce the men to lay down their arms as they arrived. When the head of the column was ordered to return, the advance guard of No. 4 Company also at once bolted into the bush. A note sent by Major Macdonald to his brother, ordering him to return with his column to assist in case of serious trouble, was intercepted and turned back by a picket. Being anxious to avoid open rupture, Macdonald refrained from attempting to dislodge this picket, but sent letters by a circuitous route both to me and his brother. I was

instructed to proceed as originally intended so long as my men remained with me, whilst the younger Macdonald was ordered to return at once. Ten of my Sudanese deserted the night after I received the note, and I harangued the others, warning them they were now on active service, and any cases of desertion would be punished by long terms of imprisonment when the culprits were caught. This had little effect, however, as the remainder of my Sudanese decamped *en masse* at night some days later, after an interview which I will discuss in its place, as I must now narrate the events that had occurred at Ngare Nyuki and the Ravine.

After Kirkpatrick had been sent to the Ravine, Major Macdonald placed a guard over his food, baggage, etc., at Ngare Nyuki, and followed with Jackson, some 250 Swahilis, and twelve Sikhs with two Maxims. *En route* they received a note from Fielding, reporting that a collision had occurred and asking for reinforcements. It appears that when the first batch of deserters reached the Ravine, Fielding met them, and tried to induce them to lay down their arms; but Mabruk Effendi prevented his men doing so, and marched off to a camp some 200 yards distant. Kirkpatrick therefore moved out with Fielding and the Sudanese garrison of the fort (half No. 6 Company Uganda Rifles), with a Maxim, to a point overlooking the deserters' camp. On the latter refusing to pile arms, Kirkpatrick ordered the Maxim to be fired on them, but the gun jammed. The garrison were then ordered to fire three volleys at the deserters, but these passed harmlessly over their heads. They replied with some twenty or thirty shots, and retired to a camp on the Uganda road, about a mile distant, where during that day and night they were joined by the whole of Nos. 4 and 9 Companies, with the exception of about forty men, who had remained faithful. The sixty-nine men with No. 1 Column did not reach the Ravine until the mutineers had already left for

Nandi, when they also followed, and eventually joined their comrades *en route* to Mumia's.

At this time Captain Bagnall was in command at Nandi, so Jackson sent off messengers to that place on the same evening, warning him of what had occurred, and instructing him to forward information towards Uganda, acquainting all the officials along the road. Bagnall was, moreover, warned not to attack the mutineers with any Swahilis and Sudanese, but to merely protect his post if attacked, and to try and obtain the assistance of the Wa-Nandi in blocking the road to Uganda.

During the next two days Jackson used every endeavour to talk the Sudanese over, and even went into their camp himself to interview them regarding their grievances; but it was all to no purpose, and the mutineers went off on the night of the 25th towards Nandi. Jardin Effendi, who had passed through Nandi on his way to the Ravine, hearing of the state of affairs, returned to Nandi with his detachment, where he was subsequently joined by Bilal and Suliman Effendi—also on their way to the Ravine—and subsequently by practically the whole of the remainder of the escort from the Ravine, as the majority of the forty men who refrained from throwing in their lot at first with the malcontents had also deserted. Practically the whole of Nos. 4, 7, and 9 Companies were concentrated at Nandi, therefore, and Bagnall's position was one of great danger. Although he was not actually ill-treated, he was made, more or less, a prisoner, and the Government station was looted of all its ammunition and the greater part of its stores. When the mutineers continued their journey to Mumia's on October 2, Bagnall was left with his original garrison unmolested.

Meanwhile, when Jackson and Macdonald found that the mutineers had decamped on the night of the 25th, they decided to attempt to cut them off from Uganda by following the old caravan track across the Guas Ngishu to Mumia's.

Although this route was considerably longer, it was thought that if the Sudanese found they were not being pursued they might waste considerable time at Nandi, and thus allow the force now being organized to reach Mumia's before them. It was then hoped it might still be possible to come to some sort of terms with the mutineers and induce them to return to their allegiance, in which case Major Macdonald proposed to hurry after the other two columns and continue his expedition without the assistance of these three companies, provided that Jackson was able to send two other trustworthy companies in their place.

On September 26th Norman Macdonald and Bright reached the Ravine with their Swahilis, and remained here for some time. When Major Macdonald proceeded towards Mumia's, accompanied by Jackson, Woodward, Kirkpatrick, Fielding, and Macpherson, together with all the men of No. 3 Column and such Swahilis as could be spared from the Ravine station, the deserters of No. 1 Column had not yet arrived from Njemps. The fidelity of the men of No. 6 Company at the Ravine was not above suspicion; and as, with the assistance of No. 7 Company shortly to arrive, it would have been an easy matter for these Sudanese to seize the station, the precaution of leaving Norman Macdonald and Bright with their Swahilis and Sikhs at the Ravine for a time was a necessary one. Before leaving the Ravine, Macdonald had instructed his brother to follow eventually in the wake of No. 1 Column, with all the heavy baggage of the expedition, which was to be carried chiefly on pack animals such as camels, donkeys, and bullocks. As a large amount of additional work, therefore, was thrown on these two officers, it was not until the beginning of October that a start could be made, and some days previously the deserters from my column had reached the Ravine, where they camped for the night, and continued to Nandi, without in any way displaying openly hostile motives.

Leaving for a time Nos. 1 and 2 Columns, who were not destined until the middle of November to hear of the stirring events that were being enacted in another corner of the Uganda Protectorate, let us again follow the movements of Major Macdonald and his little band, who had started off over a difficult road to try and intercept the mutineers. When approaching Mumia's on October 7 information was received that the mutineers had already arrived there, and when that place was reached the following day it was found that the mutineers had left for the Nzoia River, some four miles distant, which they crossed by means of a large heavy punt utilized as a floating bridge for the passage of caravans and carts from one bank to the other. At Nandi and Mumia's the numbers of the mutineers had been swelled by detachments of Sudanese who had been settled at these places, together with their women and children, and when the whole of this large following had been safely ferried across the Nzoia, the wire hawser spanning the river was cut. Along the road the mutineers had looted many villages, killing natives, and securing all the cattle, goats, and sheep they could see. Thanks to the bold front shown at Mumia's by Messrs. Tompkins (the Government official in charge of the post) and Mayes (of Messrs. Smith Mackenzie and Company's firm), the station had escaped destruction. On receiving the news forwarded by Jackson from the Ravine through Nandi, Tompkins had immediately sent on runners to Port Victoria, Lubwa's, and Uganda, informing all the officials of the grave state of affairs, and, calling in the assistance of Mayes, proceeded to put the Mumia's fort into a state of defence. The garrison of twenty Sudanese were disarmed and sent to their lines outside the fort, whilst all Messrs. Smith Mackenzie's stores and porters under Mayes were brought into the fort. When the mutineers had reached Mumia's they demanded admittance, but this Tompkins refused, and though one company was formed up for

attack, better counsels prevailed and the mutineers withdrew.

The mutineers were still camped on the right bank of the Nzoia when Jackson and Macdonald arrived at Mumia's, so reliable men were sent to them to try and bring about a peaceful solution of the difficulty. They would listen to nothing, however, and continued their march towards Port Victoria. The floating bridge had to be repaired before the pursuing column, reinforced by Tompkins, Mayes, and Vialle and some seventy additional armed Swahilis, could continue towards Uganda on October 11. Before leaving Mumia's news was received from Lieutenant Fowler, late R.N., who was commanding at Port Victoria, that Major Thruston (the senior officer of the Uganda Rifles now that Ternan had proceeded home) had arrived at Lubwa's, and was making preparations for its defence, although he hoped to be able to talk the mutineers over. As a precautionary measure, however, and in order to prevent them crossing over into Uganda, he and Mr. N. Wilson had taken steps to remove all the canoes from the ferry at Lubwa's, and also those at the Nile crossing at Jinja. Fowler himself, with thirty Swahilis, proposed marching to the Sio River to destroy the bridge there before the mutineers should reach it, leaving the twenty-five Sudanese of his garrison, on whose loyalty he depended, at Port Victoria. He was compelled, however, to abandon this project on receiving information that the mutineers were about to attack his station, and decided to remain there to defend it. Meanwhile the mutineers, hearing of the proximity of the pursuing force, also changed their plans, and, instead of making for Port Victoria, altered their route to the Sio River, which they crossed, and continued towards Lubwa's. The pursuing column were now only one day in rear of the pursued, who were killing and plundering the natives they encountered as they marched through the country. Now realizing fully

the real attitude of the mutineers, Jackson sent runners to Fowler asking him to proceed by steam launch at once to Lubwa's to warn Thruston of the extreme gravity of the situation, and to strengthen the garrison at that place with such men as could be spared from Port Victoria. Taking his twenty-five Sudanese with him, Fowler proceeded as directed to Lubwa's, where, at Thruston's request, he left these men, and, returning to Port Victoria, marched with his Swahilis to join the pursuing column, which he did on October 14, having previously sent back again the steam launch to Lubwa's by Thruston's orders. Fowler brought a note from Thruston asking the pursuing column to proceed with all speed direct to Lubwa's, but to avoid, if possible, any fighting with the mutineers.

At Lubwa's with Thruston, on October 16, were some 160 Sudanese, in the fidelity of whom he trusted implicitly, as the whole garrison had sworn loyalty to him. With this force he felt confident of keeping the mutineers at bay, more especially as the steam launch was shortly expected back from Kampala with Mr. Scott, a Maxim, and some thirty additional Sudanese. The mutineers, numbering some 320, were only one day's march distant, whilst the pursuing force under Macdonald, consisting of 10 Europeans, 17 Sikhs, 2 Maxims, and some 341 armed Swahilis, was again only one day in rear of them. Had the Lubwa's garrison, therefore, remained faithful, as they had sworn to do, the position of the mutineers between these two forces would have been a difficult one, and they would doubtless have been only too ready to listen to terms, hampered as they were with large numbers of women and children.

It was ordained, however, to be otherwise. Despite their protestations of loyalty, the Lubwa's Sudanese treacherously seized Thruston and Wilson, who were made close prisoners, on the night of the 16th. Deceived by the British flag flying on the 17th, Scott put in to the fort, and was imme-

diately also made a prisoner, the launch and Maxim, which was subsequently to do so much damage, falling into the hands of the garrison. The mutineers also arrived on this day, and, as some 100 pensioners and discharged Sudanese soldiers settled at Lubwa's were brought into the fort, there were now concentrated here over 600 Sudanese, together with a still larger number of women and children, whilst some 200 Waganda Mohammedans from Usoga had also joined the mutineers. To dispute the passage of the Nile at the Jinja ferry, Captain Molony and Mr. Malek, accompanied by seventy-five Sudanese, a Maxim, and some 200 Waganda, had been posted there; but, as his Sudanese showed a disposition to throw in their lot with the mutineers, Molony retired towards Kampala, where they were later on disarmed. Meanwhile, the authorities in Uganda were making every effort to collect together a large Waganda force for despatch to Lubwa's to assist the Government in their dealings with the mutineers.

On the night of October 17 the pursuing column learnt from natives the true state of affairs at Lubwa's, and of the imprisonment of Thruston, Scott, and Wilson. The following day, when approaching Lubwa's, Jackson heard from Molony, who confirmed the reports previously received. The mutineers, on the morning of the 18th, stationed a picket on the summit of a low ridge (some 500 feet above the level of the lake), which encloses the flat peninsula at its base, where the Lubwa's station was built, on the margin of the Victoria Nyanza. The distance from this hill to the fort was about 3,000 yards, and the road from Mumia's, passing over the top, descends on to the peninsula and leads to the fort. The whole of the peninsula, and, in fact, the whole country hereabouts, is thickly covered with bananas, which grow in the wildest profusion. The range of vision, therefore, from the hill, looking in the direction from whence the pursuing force would have to come, is extremely limited,

although in the opposite direction over the lake and peninsula a most lovely panorama is unfolded. Apparently the picket became tired of watching for the force that never appeared, and later withdrew to the fort below. They had not long been gone, however, before the pursuing force were in occupation of this extremely important position, which dominated the entire peninsula and the fort below. Immediately the mutineers in the fort saw the force on the crest of the hill, some 200 of them sallied out of the post in two bodies, extended in skirmishing order, blowing bugles, and evidently intending to attack the position.

To avoid precipitating a conflict, orders were given not to fire unless attacked, and when the mutineers had arrived within 50 or 60 yards of his line, Major Macdonald called on them to halt and fall in if they had anything to say. This they did, as it seems they had only expected to find Jackson, accompanied by perhaps fifty or sixty porters, in occupation, and were obviously disconcerted to meet so strong a force as was now opposed to them. Although by far the greater majority at once fell back, some twenty stepped forward to speak to Macdonald and Jackson, whilst two or three even entered the lines. When interrogated, they admitted they had come out to fight if the force proved hostile; but as it apparently did not wish to fight, they were prepared to discuss terms regarding peace. Jackson and Macdonald wished, however, to learn about the prisoners, and were informed they were merely under guard and were being well treated. Jackson then said that, in spite of their late conduct, he was still prepared to go into their grievances with them, but that as a first step the prisoners should be released. After certain further discussions the mutineers returned to the fort, professing acquiescence in the arrangements proposed, which they would comply with on the morrow. Some hours later a Sudanese corporal and one of Thruston's servants came out from the fort bearing a small

note for Jackson, which was headed 'Don't fight unless attacked.' Thruston then proceeded to state that he, Wilson, and Scott were prisoners, and that it would be best to try and obtain their release by negotiation, but that if such a suggestion interfered in any way with Jackson's plans, not to allow any considerations for his own safety to stand in the way. Thruston's servant informed Jackson that the statement the Sudanese had made regarding the prisoners being merely under guard was false, as they were confined in a room and all their property had been looted. A few trifles, such as tea, salt, etc., for which Thruston had asked, were sent down to him, and also a note saying that fighting had been carefully refrained from and negotiations for his release were already being entered upon. These the corporal promised to get smuggled in to Thruston.

At daybreak some 300 of the mutineers, accompanied by about 200 Waganda Mohammedans, sallied out of the fort and advanced up the hill in attack formation. When within 70 yards they were again called on by Macdonald to halt at once and explain their intentions. As Suliman Effendi, of No. 7 Company, was reported as being averse to proceeding to extremities, Macdonald walked over to the right flank of the camp, near which Suliman was, and called out to him to come and discuss matters. Subsequently, we heard that Bilal and others, fearing that Suliman might be talked over, had plied him with liquor to get him into a combative mood. At all events, Suliman's reply was merely to give a signal, on which the bugles sounded the advance, and, loading his own rifle, he led his men straight at the camp, shouting, 'Go for them, go for them! The Swahilis are women, and will run ; drive them away, and then seize the Europeans and Indians!' The first shot was fired by Suliman, but he was quickly knocked over by both Jackson and Fowler, although he fired again from the ground before he received two more bullets and was killed.

THE ENGAGEMENT ON LUBWA'S HILL, OCT. 16TH, 1897.

The action at once became general, as the camp was simultaneously attacked on the left and front as well. But the Swahilis stood their ground, whilst the Sikhs, with their Maxims, performed prodigies of valour, encouraged thereto by the fearless bearing of the Europeans. The action commenced at 6 a.m., and for five hours this desperate fight, on which the fate of Uganda hung in the balance, waged with unabated fury. Ammunition was beginning to run very short, as the firing had been of a most sustained character, for no less than eight determined attacks had been repulsed. At 10.45 a counter-attack was ordered, as the Sudanese showed signs of wavering. This was gallantly led by Kirkpatrick with 140 Swahilis, and the mutineers, unable to withstand it, broke and fled, and the victory was won. The enemy's losses must have aggregated close on 100 killed and wounded, as some forty were left dead on the field. Our losses, too, were heavy, as Fielding was killed, Jackson dangerously wounded with a Snider bullet, which penetrated his lungs, and Macpherson, the only doctor, was also slightly wounded; three Sikhs were severely and three slightly wounded, whilst fifteen Swahilis were killed and twenty-two others wounded, the total loss being forty-six killed and wounded.

Even though the mutineers had been defeated in this their first attempt, the position of the victors was fraught with great anxiety, for barely fifteen rounds of ammunition per man remained, which, in the event of another attack being delivered, would very soon be expended, and leave the Government forces at the mercy of the Sudanese. Macdonald decided, however, that where they were, there they must remain, as the only hope of being able to save Uganda. Messengers were at once despatched to Kampala asking for supplies of ammunition to be forwarded, whilst the camp was brought within a smaller area and hasty defences thrown up.

On the 20th the mutineers sent up, asking for peace, the messenger stating that the prisoners were alive and well; so Macdonald replied that the first condition towards peace must be their immediate release. The statement of the messenger regarding the prisoners was absolutely false, as will presently be shown. During the 20th and subsequent days the Waganda army of 1,600 guns, accompanied by Mr. Pilkington and Dr. Cook, of the C.M.S., together with a supply of ammunition, arrived on the scene, followed later by Captain Molony and some eight other Europeans, and the position on the top of the hill was made more or less secure against assault. Large numbers of Wasoga also now threw in their lot with the Government forces, whilst the majority of the Waganda Mohammedans, after the defeat of the Sudanese mutineers, apparently considered discretion the better part of valour and deserted their former allies, who now became invested in the fort on the peninsula below.

Let us now visit the rebel stronghold after the fight, where the prisoners were still held captive. It was hoped that the mutineers would not injure Thruston and his comrades, as after suffering so severe a defeat it would naturally be thought that their safe custody would offer a most valuable factor for securing lenient terms. The Sudanese soldiery, who had been much disheartened by the crushing blow they had received, on return to the fort complained bitterly against their officers, who had been the cause of their taking up arms against the Government forces. Many wished to surrender, restore the prisoners, and make the best terms they could for themselves, and spoke also of handing over their own officers to Macdonald. These latter, realizing that in such an event they could but expect scant mercy, decided on a step which staggered not only the whole of Uganda, but their own brethren away in Unyoro, Toru, and Buddu. To implicate the wavering majority, whom he had

heard discussing the above propositions on their way back to the fort, Bilal Effendi ordered the guard to bring out the Europeans for execution. The guard demurred, saying that such a thing could only be done after the other officers and men had been fully consulted, and agreed upon such a measure being adopted. Thereupon Bilal consulted Mabruk Effendi and Rehan—the latter officer being he who had treacherously seized Thruston and Wilson at Lubwa's before the advent of the mutineers—and these three together had the prisoners brought out and taken outside the fort. Bilal then addressed the prisoners, and told them they were about to be shot, to which Thruston is reported to have replied: 'If you are going to shoot me, do so at once, but I warn you that many of my countrymen will come up, and that if you do this thing you will all have reason to regret it.' Bilal interrupted the Major by calling out for his rifle, and with his own hands shot Thruston and Wilson, who both fell dead at once. Scott made desperate attempts to escape, but was shot dead through the back of the head by Rehan.

After this dastardly deed had been committed, the soldiery were informed that they could go and surrender now if they desired, but that they would meet with short shrift when it was learnt that the prisoners had been executed. During the latter progress of the Lubwa's siege there is abundant evidence to prove that the men were only kept in hand by their officers, who, whenever a disposition to surrender showed itself, adopted barbarous measures to prevent the men deserting. I have myself heard from prisoners and deserters that if any man ever hinted even at throwing up the sponge he received 200 lashes, was secured in the chain-gang, and almost starved, until he was brought round to a better frame of mind. It is small wonder, then, that these Sudanese fought with a tenacity and courage against the Government forces that even their most ardent admirers

amongst the officers of the Uganda Rifles had previously little expected from them. When cornered, as they were for a long time at Lubwa's, they exhibited most reckless daring, and with the forces to which they were opposed proved a most difficult nut to crack.

On October 22 a small party of twenty-five Sudanese, who had previously been despatched by the mutineers to loot the Port Victoria station, on their passage through to Lubwa's, were intercepted and captured. These men were tried and sentenced to short terms of imprisonment, as it was hoped that when the information regarding their lenient punishment had leaked through to the mutineers shut up in the fort below, others might be induced to surrender.

As more ammunition had arrived from Kampala on October 23 and 24 Macdonald decided on taking active measures against the fort, and various skirmishes took place, during which the Waganda irregulars, who were chiefly armed with muzzle-loaders, fired away the bulk of their ammunition. This could only be replenished from German territory at the south end of the lake, and, pending the arrival of fresh supplies of it, little beyond a passive investment could be undertaken. On November 4 Jackson was conveyed by steam launch to Kampala under care of Macpherson, whilst Macdonald himself followed on the 7th in order to consult with Mr. George Wilson (who was now acting as Commissioner in place of Jackson), returning to Lubwa's on the 11th with a further supply of breech-loading ammunition.

During the pause in the operations let us enter Uganda and review what steps had been taken there to meet the critical situation that had arisen, and which threatened to swamp the Administration. Dealing first with the remainder of the Protectorate troops, who at that time consisted entirely of Sudanese, numbering close on 1,000, who might naturally be expected to evince the keenest interest in the struggle being maintained at Lubwa's, we find that the distant dis-

trict of Unyoro was garrisoned by from 400 to 500 Sudanese. These were distributed amongst six posts at considerable distances apart, and controlled alone by Lieutenant Dugmore, of the Uganda Rifles, who had his headquarters at Masindi, where Dr. Ansorge, the medical officer, also resided. In the western district of Toru was Captain Sitwell, with another company of Sudanese, who remained absolutely loyal throughout the operations, and subsequently performed excellent service against Mwanga's forces, when the ex-King escaped from German territory, and took up arms again with a view to creating a diversion in favour of the mutineers. In the south-western district of Buddu were some 250 Sudanese, under command of Mr. Grant and Lieutenant Hobart, of the Grenadier Guards; whilst at the capital, Kampala, were some 220 additional troops. When the first news of the mutiny at the Ravine reached Kampala, and further information was received that the mutineers were marching on Uganda, the critical nature of the situation at once became apparent. Although it was hoped that the immediate rebellion would be safely dealt with to the east of the Nile, yet, in the event of the troops in Uganda itself and Unyoro rising to join their comrades, it was felt that the Administration itself would be quite incapable, with its own resources, to extricate the country from a position of extreme gravity. When the nature of the situation was realized by the Waganda, the chiefs and people (who hated as much as they feared the Sudanese) unhesitatingly threw in their lot with us, and at once commenced to raise forces both for the assistance of our troops and for the protection of their own country should the mutiny spread within their borders. In the course of the first day some 4,000 Waganda guns (men armed with muzzle-loaders) were collected and at the disposal of Wilson, who lost no time in securing under his own control the Hotchkiss gun, Maxim, and all ammunition stored in Kampala fort.

As has already been related, Major Thruston proceeded to Lubwa's and Molony to the Jinja ferry; but the latter was compelled to return to Kampala, as his Sudanese proved untrustworthy and had decided on killing their officer — a fact of which he fortunately received timely warning. When it was learnt, therefore, that the Lubwa's fort had fallen into the hands of the mutineers, the Sudanese at Kampala were at once disarmed, and reinforcements of Waganda and ammunition sent to Lubwa's, which had arrived at the very critical period following the fight of October 19. Meanwhile, the Buddu Sudanese were regarded as loyal to Grant, who thoroughly knew and understood his men, with whom he had been associated for years; for he was with Lugard when that officer had brought them, in the first instance, into the country from Kavallis, where they were in a very precarious condition, having fled before the Dervish advance from Emin Pasha's Equatorial Provinces. The Unyoro garrisons were considered more doubtful, for, although they had as yet made no hostile move, it was felt that they were merely watching the course of events at Lubwa's.

I should here add that for some time past—since they had become strong and well-armed, in fact—it had become the dream of the Sudanese all over Uganda to set up a Mohammedan kingdom of their own, to overthrow the British Administration, and make slaves of such Waganda as had turned Christians and refused to embrace their faith. The Waganda were quite aware of this feeling amongst the Sudanese, and made no secret of it, as they had from time to time thrown out warning hints; but those who thought they best knew their troops refused to place any reliance in these assertions, and no precautionary methods were adopted. To the Sudanese mind there seemed nothing easier or more feasible than to overthrow the Administration. They were the only troops in the country, and so

ignorant were the majority of them that they refused to believe in the existence of any other troops but themselves, and regarded stories of white troops, Indian Sepoys, and so on, as absolute myths. They were destined, however, to find the latter a stern reality later, although they generally considered the Waganda irregulars, armed for the greater part with muzzle-loaders, as of little account, and the Wasoga of still less.

As disquieting rumours regarding the Buddu and Unyoro Sudanese had arisen, Major Macdonald again proceeded to Kampala on November 21 to reassure public opinion as to what was taking place at Lubwa's, leaving Woodward in command, with instructions to resume active operations against the mutineers as soon as the expected ammunition for our Waganda allies arrived. Whilst Macdonald was still absent, therefore, and after the Waganda had been supplied with the caps, powder, and lead for their guns, Woodward decided to continue operations on November 24, with a view to driving the mutineers into their fort, and hemming them in there whilst an advanced fort was being constructed on the peninsula below, as a first step towards a close siege. A very serious engagement resulted, for although the mutineers were driven from the open into their fort and lost heavily, the Waganda suffered still more severely. It appears that the latter, without awaiting the advance of the Government forces, and carried away by their own impetuosity, followed the mutineers almost up to the ditch of the fort. Here the Maxim was turned on them at a few yards' range, and, unable to face the terrific fire from the fort, the Waganda turned and fled, hotly pursued by the mutineers, who shot them down in scores. The result was that the Waganda and Wasoga lost over 350 men killed and wounded in a few minutes, and were so discouraged that their working parties failed to complete the construction of the advanced fort, which had to be

abandoned before the Government forces retired again for the night to the main fort on the crest of the hill.

On December 5 Macdonald returned to Lubwa's to resume command of the siege operations, and found that Captain Harrison, of the East Africa Rifles, had arrived the previous day with 100 regulars, consisting of Sudanese and Swahilis. On December 7, therefore, another attempt was made to construct an advanced fort on the peninsula about 1,000 yards from the enemy's fort. In spite of opposition, this was sufficiently completed to accommodate a garrison for the night, and on the next day it was still further strengthened and improved, having been attacked the previous night by the mutineers, who were repulsed by 90 regulars and 140 Swahilis. With this advanced position as a new base, systematic arrangements were made to commence cutting down the banana-trees, which were providing so liberal a food-supply for the mutineers and their families, and this led to much hard fighting at close range amongst the plantations. Before proceeding with the mutiny operations, however, I would ask the reader now to follow the movements of Nos. 1 and 2 Columns, portions of whom about this time arrived on the scene of that stern struggle which was taking place at Lubwa's, and of which they had remained in ignorance for so long.

Major E. G. Harrison, D.S.O.

CHAPTER V

WITH NO. 1 COLUMN TO SAVE

As already related in the previous chapter, No. 1 Column of the expedition had marched from Ngare Nyuki on September 21, 1897, accompanied by the escort of 69 Sudanese, 10 Sikhs and a Maxim, 20 Masai, and some 200 Swahilis, and a large number of transport animals. Progress was at first very slow after the halt of several days, as the caravan had not yet got into proper working order, and the country traversed to Njemps was in places rocky and difficult. The steel whale-boat, consisting of ten sections slung to bamboo poles, each section being carried by two men, was an especially cumbersome load, and entailed much hard and fatiguing work on those deputed to transport it. At the close of the day's march on the 23rd, Masai runners brought a note from Major Macdonald informing me of the desertion of Nos. 4 and 9 Companies of the Uganda Rifles, but instructing me to continue and carry out my original programme, provided my Sudanese remained with me. These latter, I fear, must have obtained tidings of what had occurred from the messengers, for the next evening ten men were found absent at the daily roll-call. The remainder were warned and the journey to Njemps continued, during which time the Sudanese worked well and without complaint.

The larger of the two Njemps settlements was reached on the 26th, and here again I was overtaken by Masai runners with despatches from the Major, who instructed me to abandon my original mission and to proceed to Karamojo, and

there lay in a large stock of food and await the arrival of the other two columns, as it was still hoped a peaceful solution of the situation might be arrived at. Despite every precaution to prevent the runners holding intercourse with my Sudanese, it appears that the latter must have obtained an inkling of what had occurred at the Ravine, for at the usual muster in the evening, when Osborn, who was in command of the escort of Sudanese, was about to post sentries for the night, they calmly informed him they did not propose to march on the morrow, but intended to remain at Njemps until their comrades arrived with the other columns. The matter was serious. The company would not be shaken in their determination, so Osborn came and reported the state of affairs to me. The men were still fallen in when I proceeded to their lines and interrogated them by means of an interpreter. They wanted to know whither they were bound, what they were going to do, who they were going to fight, and various other points, which it was quite impossible for me to enlighten them upon. After a long interview the men still refused to march, and the parade was dismissed, as it was useless discussing questions with them in their present frame of mind; but they were informed that the column would proceed as originally intended in the morning.

Being openly defied thus, it was difficult to know quite what to do. We had no wish to force mutinous troops to accompany us, nor could we very well march them back to the Ravine. I decided, therefore, on the morrow to try at all events to disarm them, if they still refused to march; but, at Osborn's request, after dinner I permitted him to again fall in the company with a view to his obtaining the names of any of the men, if such existed, who were willing to proceed. I considered it advisable, however, to be ready for emergencies, and instructed the Sikhs to take up a position in the darkness with their Maxim, to cover us

whilst we discussed matters with the Sudanese. The latter must have got wind of this, for when Osborn and I called for volunteers, the whole company at once expressed their great delight at the prospect of pushing on! Were they not askaris (soldiers) of the Queen, and was it not their duty to go anywhere and do anything that was required of them by her officers? It certainly was, but they did not do it; for, after the parade was dismissed and everything apparently amicably settled, and we had all retired to rest, they decamped. One by one they seem to have crept out of camp, leaving their tents standing, and at 1 a.m. their little idiot of a native officer—forget his name now—solemnly accompanied by my interpreter, woke me up, saluted most graciously, and quietly informed me that all the Sudanese had gone. I told him then that, as he was evidently a man of such great authority, he would not be of much use to me by himself, so he had better go too, as any idea of pursuit was out of the question. He went, was killed during the mutiny operations, and I expressed no real regret when I learned of the fact.

Next morning before marching runners were sent off to Major Macdonald, informing him of what had occurred, and that I proposed continuing the journey to Karamojo, as I felt we could do better, probably, without our sulky friends. One, of course, at that time never realized that there was likely to be open rupture, followed by severe fighting, and it was not until the middle of November that I again heard how serious a turn affairs had taken.

Proceeding in a northerly direction, we crossed with some difficulty the river Tigrish, which was in flood, and followed the western shores of Lake Baringo, that charming sheet of water, with its islands, so well described first by Joseph Thomson in his book 'Through Masailand.' Game was plentiful, and lions were seen by several officers of the party, one, indeed, making an attempt to seize some of our cattle.

During the small hours of September 30 I was roused by a perfect uproar in camp, and, jumping out of bed to inquire into its cause, learned that one of the sentries had been badly mauled by a lion. It appears that the brute was prowling round the cattle enclosure, when the man stooped to pick up his rifle, whereupon the animal sprang at him, and knocked him down with a fearful blow on the head. He then stood over his victim, but the Masai raised such a din that the lion became terrified and bolted. The wretched man was literally scalped and in a horrible state, and Ferguson spent several hours in stitching the man's head up again, attaching ears, which were all astray, and so on. He described that early morning operation as one of the most nauseating he had ever had to perform, which I can quite believe, as several of the cast-iron stomached Swahilis who were assisting him were compelled to turn away and vomit. It takes a good deal to cause an unimaginative Swahili to do that! However, before daylight broke, Ferguson had made a first-rate job of the man's scalp, and this stolid individual tramped along on the march that day with merely bandages fastened round his head! A white man's skull would have been pulverized, and only a burial service necessary. No complications set in, and that Nubi (he was not a Swahili) completely recovered, and lived to perpetrate several villainies before Mombasa was reached again. On being unable to account for some seventy rounds of ammunition later on when in charge of a party sent with letters from one place to another, he said he and his men had expended them in keeping lions at bay one night.

On leaving Lake Baringo we struck in a north-westerly direction towards the outlying spurs of the Kamasia range of hills, and soon became involved in very difficult country, traversing which the camels and the steel boat caused endless delays before we reached Kisite. We eventually struck the bed of a small stream flowing down a narrow

valley enclosed by low hills, and progress now became very laboured, as a great deal of bush existed, and much cutting had to be undertaken to clear a track for the passage of our men and the large number of transport animals with which we were hampered. Nearly four years later I was destined again to be travelling down this valley—the Karuan—towards Lake Baringo, under less happy circumstances. When we had reached the head of the valley we ascended a low neck in the hills, and descended, on the far side, out on to the Suk plains, the Kamasia range terminating hereabouts, although to the east one might almost consider the Ribo and Yiate Hills to be a northerly continuation. The view across these plains was very fine, as an uninterrupted sight is obtained for many miles north, whilst away to the west and north-west was the seemingly solid barrier of mountains—a northerly continuation of the Elgeyo range—on which the Suk natives were reported, by those of our men who had been there before, to have founded their settlements, such as Kivas, Chemtulell, Weiwei, Marich, and Sekere. Striking crags and peaks were discernible to the north-west, towards which we marched across the plains, which are thickly wooded with thorn-bush and mimosa. These latter played sad havoc with our primitive donkey-saddles, made of sacking, which in a short time became worn to shreds, as the gentle ass seemed to prefer dragging his burden through the thickest clump of thorn he could find rather than make a slight détour to avoid a patch of bush.

Our first march after emerging from the hills we turned off almost due west for some four miles, following along the bank of a large sandy-bedded nullah. Here we passed through some charming tracts, which much resembled old deserted gardens, so luxuriant was the foliage of the tall trees and the vegetation which had everywhere sprung up. Towards the end of the march we were compelled to proceed along the bed of the nullah, and the heat became very great,

so we were glad to camp when we eventually were able to obtain water by digging. The boat sections—as usual, well in rear—and the rear-guard were attacked by a swarm of bees, so Osborn and the men were compelled to beat a hasty retreat and abandon their charge, which was only brought into camp after sundown, when the bees had retired to rest. Many hollowed-out cylindrical logs of wood were hereabouts hung up in the trees by natives for the purpose of collecting honey, as these receptacles become quickly occupied by bees, who establish their homes in them. A strict silence is generally observed by the caravan when passing under these, for should any noise be made, the vicious little occupants descend in thousands and quickly put to flight those who had ventured to disturb them in their peaceful retreat. Few things are more disconcerting to a caravan than being attacked by a swarm of bees, and men and even animals are not unfrequently stung to death by these infuriated insects. The way in which porters throw aside their loads and bolt, slapping themselves all over to get rid of their pursuers, is really intensely ludicrous, and causes much amusement until the jiber is attacked, when he, too, quickly realizes that the fun is all on the side of the bees.

Continuing in a north-westerly direction, we reached the river Kerio on October 10, and were pleased to find the river fordable. This stream is at times a most formidable obstacle, as it arises in the Mau Mountains, whence the Kamasia and Elgeyo continuations of that range bifurcate, and drains the whole of the western and eastern slopes respectively of those two lofty escarpments, flowing at the base of the deep intermediate valley. In 1892, when Captain (now Major) Pringle and I were proceeding to Njemps from Kavirondo, crossing the Elgeyo and Kamasia ranges very much as Joseph Thomson had done, we were delayed for several days by the Kerio, over which we had to construct a 100-foot bridge for the passage of our porters and loads; and that

was at a point many miles nearer its source than where we now struck it. The men and donkeys forded the river without much difficulty, but we had a regular tussle with the camels, who, in spite of a ramp being prepared for them on the far bank, refused to attempt to negotiate the ascent. Eventually we were compelled to unload them, pass ropes round their sterns, and haul them forcibly out of the river up the incline; so it was past 4 p.m. before the whole caravan, loads, etc., were safely across on the left bank. The Kerio flows generally in a northerly direction, and enters Lake Rudolf near its southern extremity; but, like the Turkwel, the river becomes gradually absorbed by the dry, arid, sandy soil of the country through which it passes, and little, if any, of its waters ever reach the lake at all.

Next day we continued in a westerly direction towards the Elgeyo escarpment, crossing several deep, thickly-wooded ravines on the plains before we reached a powerful stream and the first Suk settlement of Kivas at the foot of the hills. A few natives were seen for the first time since leaving Baringo, and small plots of cultivation existed along the lower slopes of the hills, but the crops were in a young and green stage. Next day we continued for some seven miles through thorn and bush along the foot of the hills, crossing five or six beautiful streams of water, and then, rounding a spur, crossed the Siga stream, and found ourselves in a regular bay in the hills. This spot was charmingly wooded with scattered trees, grassy glades, free from thorn and bush, giving it the appearance of parkland, whilst above us towered the mountains, broken here and there by fine craggy peaks, lofty and bold in outline. We saw many Wa-Suk (natives of Suk) squatting in batches along the side of the track, who, though not unfriendly, were somewhat nervous, and viewed the advent of the strange white men with suspicion. The striking of a match to light a pipe with seemed to mystify and frighten them much, as

this means of suddenly obtaining fire was beyond their comprehension, for their method of doing so—by rubbing pieces of wood together and gradually causing ignition by friction—was the only one known to them.

The guide, who had brought us up to this point from Njemps, and was to accompany us as far as Marich, whence he was to return to his home, now obtained for us the services of a Suk guide, Nyanga by name, who knew well the Karamojo and Turkana country and the dialects of those natives. This man remained with the expedition for over a year, a considerable portion of which time he was with me, and proved invaluable, as his intimate knowledge of the country traversed was extraordinary. He was certainly the most intelligent native of his class that I have ever been accompanied by in my travels.

We had soon traversed the park-like country next day, and were again confronted with thick bush and euphorbia growth, which necessitated much cutting, as the track was so overgrown that in parts regular tunnels existed, along which a man could only proceed in a stooping position. All this had to be cleared overhead for the passage of porters carrying loads, and still more so for our ungainly but useful camels. In addition, several steep, rocky watercourses had to be negotiated, which caused great delays to the transport animals and the men carrying the boat. Before reaching the stream in the Weiwei district, on which we camped for the day, at the mouth of a deep wide valley running in a southerly direction into the heart of the mountains, we were met by a large deputation of Wa-Suk. Previous to our advent, Count Teleki and Lieutenant Höhnel were the only Europeans who had ever entered these Suk settlements, which they did on their return from the discovery of Lakes Rudolf and Stefanie, some ten years before. The Suk were doubtful, therefore, regarding the attitude we were likely to assume, and they candidly informed us that they had held

a big 'shauri' (council) to discuss whether to fight us or not. They had decided we were too strong, and desired, therefore, to remain friends with us, as they themselves were now weak, the result of having been recently much harassed by the Masai. Our Masai smiled in a superior kind of way when they heard this explanation, for they had had a hand, in days gone by, in attacks upon the Suk, although they had by no means universally come out top in these encounters with the hardy mountaineers we were now amongst. We reciprocated heartily the friendly feelings expressed, and replied that it was our earnest wish to remain at peace with all men. Unfortunately, the elders could not promise to sell us much in the way of food, which I was most anxious to obtain, for a post had to be established at our next camp —Marich—where a month's supply, at least, would be necessary for the garrison, and we still had a long stretch of foodless country to traverse before we could hope to reach the flesh-pots of Karamojo. The crops everywhere were quite unripe, and the Suk complained that they themselves were, and would continue to be, extremely 'hungry' until their next harvest had been gathered in.

Cutting our laborious way again next day along the foot of the hills, through dense euphorbia growths and bush, and being confronted with several evil rocky watercourses, it was 4 p.m. before the rear-guard had covered the necessary seven miles to reach the Muroni River and the district of Marich. Osborn had the misfortune to lose his pony—the only one in the column, as we always walked—which dropped dead during the march, whilst one of the camels also, in negotiating a watercourse, slipped and sustained a compound fracture of a foreleg below the knee, and had to be destroyed. Marich was reached by us on October 14, and for the next three or four days we remained halted at that place, during which a large clearing was made on a suitable site, and a post constructed for the accommodation of the

garrison and the steel boat and such loads of reserve rations as were for a time to be left there. We were all thankful during our further travels to Save that we were no longer encumbered with the boat, and had lightened the column down in other respects as well, for, although during the latter end of our journey to Marich progress had been dismally slow and laboured, the difficulties of the country now ahead of us were incomparably more trying to men and animals.

Several desertions had recently taken place amongst our porters, when we reached the outskirts and during our progress through Suk country, due, perhaps, to the presence of the awkward sections of the boat, which was a most unpopular load, and for which fresh men had to be detailed in turn each day, as it so exhausted those who were deputed to transport it. During our stay at Marich, although the natives freely visited our camp, we could obtain no flour from them, as they maintained they had none for sale, and merely brought round a few pumpkins, which were hawked about camp, and for which exorbitant prices in the shape of brass wire and cowries were asked.

Before we continue the journey let me try and give some description of the country and the people we are now amongst. The section of the Suk people we had now met are a hardy type of mountaineers, who, for security against attack, build their huts and small hamlets high up on the hillsides, along the foot of which we had recently been travelling. During the last few marches from Kivas we had seen numbers of these habitations, some of which are perched on the summits of almost inaccessible precipices and crags. Many beautiful streams issue from the hills and find their way out on to the plains below, where they either join the Kerio or, eventually, by way of the Weiwei, the Turkwel River, their waters thus being borne north towards that striking reservoir, having no outlet, which is now generally

known as Lake Rudolf. The Suk, by means of skilful irrigation channels, utilize these streams for watering their fields at the base of the hills, where at times large areas of grain are seen under cultivation. Flocks of goats and sheep are brought down during the daytime from their mountain fastnesses by the natives to graze along the banks of the many streams, which are generally furnished with a luxuriant growth of grass, on which cattle also wax exceeding fat. The following description of the personal appearance of the Suk was jotted down in my diary at the time we were amongst them, and may be regarded as a general type, although, of course, certain details may differ in individuals: 'The young men are smart-looking fellows, with their hair done up in a quaint form of chignon behind, fitting close to the head and well plastered down with what appears to be gray clay, which has become baked hard by the sun. Into this they have generally an ostrich feather or two stuck, and also a long curved piece of thin brass wire with a white blob of wool at the end, which bobs backwards and forwards over their heads as they walk. In addition, they have a small frontal sort of eminence on the top of their heads, similarly plastered, into which smaller ostrich feathers are inserted. They do not distend their ear lobes to any extent, like the Masai, Wa-Kikuyu, and other similar tribes, contenting themselves with numbers of small brass rings and ornaments in the rims of their ears, which are pierced to receive them. The lower lip is also pierced, and into this is inserted either a quill or a long, thin, flat piece of brass, with perhaps a bead or two attached to the end, the whole hanging perpendicularly from the lip. The men are quite naked, whilst a string or two of beads round the neck, or perhaps a collar of iron wire, and a bracelet of either ivory, iron, or brass wire, completes the outfit. The older men present a more sober aspect, the most striking part about them being their head-dress, which consists of a long flat

bag, so to speak, of hair, which is worked into almost the consistency of felt, and attached to their own hair. This is the hair of their forefathers, and in some cases hangs from the back of the head almost down to the waist. On the inner side there is an opening into this bag, and the Suk uses it as a receptacle for carrying his tobacco, snuff, and other small things. The exterior of the bag is frequently adorned with small ostrich feathers and blobs of wool, and the curved wire as well. The men are certainly more winning in their ways than any of the tribes we have yet seen, especially the young men, who have pleasant, cheery, laughing faces. Their weapons consist of inferior spears with long handles and short blades, bows and poisoned arrows, and an oblong-shaped shield either made of thick hide or cane wicker-work. The women are decently clad in skins, one being fastened round the waist, whilst another is thrown over the shoulder. The younger girls work their hair into a series of twisted threads, which hang down straight all round the head, to which it gives an appearance not unlike a well-oiled mop. The old ladies have their hair dry, frizzed up, and standing on end—sweet creatures! Large masses of beads are worn round the neck by the younger women, and bracelets and armlets of iron or brass wire besides.'

October 17 was our last day at Marich, as the post was completed during the morning, and the Suk informed that men were to be left behind to look after certain things which were to be stored. The reader may perhaps consider it strange, knowing of the course of events in Uganda, that a post should have been established here. It must be remembered, however, that I was in ignorance of the true state of affairs, and imagined the other two columns to be already following in my wake, as it had been decided to establish a base at Marich for the further exploration about to be undertaken. Twenty-five men, under charge of two

N.C.O.'s, was the Swahili garrison to remain, and these were provided with Indian corn to cultivate and sow their own fields, in order to support the post with food, as none appeared obtainable at present from the natives. The sections of the boat, some sixty-five boxes of reserve rations, which were only to be used as a last resource, two boxes of ammunition, and four of beads, wherewith to purchase food later on if possible, when the harvest was ripe, were left with the corporal in charge. Some twenty-five bags of flour (sixty pounds each), for immediate consumption of the garrison, were also left, with orders that this amount was to be their ration for thirty-three days, by which time I hoped to be able to send more food back to them from Karamojo. A letter was handed over to the N.C.O. in charge to acquaint Major Macdonald on his arrival of various facts, which need not be entered into here. I had only fifty-two bags of flour left now for my column of about 210 men, who would need close on six bags a day on full-scale rations, so we had at once to start cutting our men down to half-scale and supplementing with meat, as we anticipated at least a fortnight's further journey before we should reach Karamojo. Tracy was placed in charge of the issue of rations, as strict control and constant checking of supplies and prevention from theft would have to be exercised now that the men were having their flour reduced.

To reach the Karamojo plains we were told that we should have to proceed right through the Suk hills, following for several days the valley of the Muroni River, but it was not until the night before we started that our guide considered it necessary to inform me that the road was impracticable for camels. Get through, however, they must somehow, so off we started on the 18th. Had the guide told me the track was impracticable for any living transport animal carrying loads, except, perhaps, gorillas, he would have been nearer the mark. It was perfectly awful! The first day,

working from early morn to dark, we covered three and a half miles, and then only by unloading every single pack animal and sending porters backwards and forwards to carry in the loads to camp. The track was terribly rocky, regular ledges having to be negotiated, whilst in other places we were confronted by steep ravines, the grades of which proved formidable obstacles to the men alone. How the camels ever got through without their loads even was surprising, and that they did so was entirely due to the activity and skill of our Somali camelmen, who, however, were compelled to destroy one they could not get along at all. Next day we covered two miles along the river. Same business as the previous day, only more so, as we spent a positively exhilarating time along a narrow ledge over which the track ran about 150 feet above the level of the river, down to which there was a steep, precipitous slope. Some distance along this a rock blocked the road, one side of it being level with the track, whilst on the far side was a drop of some 3 feet in the track. The first camel or two surmounted the step quite comfortably, but the third shied, and, becoming restive, backed over the edge of the track, and away he went, load and all. We shouted to stop the rest of the camels whilst we constructed a ramp down this step ; but, unfortunately, the majority of those in rear were already on the narrow ledge, and there they had to stand and wait, as there was no room for them to turn round and retrace their footsteps. A camel is often a patient beast, but when he does begin to get restive he generally causes trouble. Several of those on the track began to get bored by the long wait, and started trying to turn round and go home again, in which light I suppose they had come to regard Marich. The result was that they soon left the track, and it fairly made our blood curdle to watch them travel down that awful slope, turning somersaults, head over stern, stern over head, the whole way down, and clearing a broad track through all the thorn

bush at the speed of an express train. Just before the water was reached the slope terminated in a low precipice, over which they shot and disappeared from view, their arrival in the water being announced by an ominous thud. Four went over in all, and whilst three selected a deep pool to land in, out of which they calmly drew themselves to the opposite bank and commenced grazing, the fourth exhibited less discretion, and broke his neck in consequence. However, it is an ill wind that blows nobody any good, and the porters supped off that creature the same evening. We recovered all the loads, and were lucky to get off so cheaply, as I had imagined that no camel could have accomplished a descent of that description without seriously incommoding himself. This spot was always known to us after as the 'Camels' Leap.'

Our troubles were not yet over, and we could only advance another four and a half miles on the 20th, a great deal of cutting, as usual, being necessary, so in three days we had only succeeded in marching ten miles. We now again saw a few Wa-Suk, and came across small patches of cultivation, which had been most scientifically irrigated by channels conveying water from the river, which were carried along the faces of sheer rocks by means of retaining walls and branches of trees, very much as I had previously seen in Waziristan and other parts across the Indian border. The following day, after marching at a dismal rate some five miles in a south-westerly direction, we reached the point where we were to leave the Muroni, and hoped for better things on ahead. In spite of our lugubrious rate of progress up this valley, one could not help at times admiring the lovely scenery, which was now seen for the first time by European eyes. At the base of fine lofty peaks and ridges the Muroni, which generally only averages some 15 yards in width, flows with great velocity over a rocky bed, where in parts cascades and charming rapids are formed. The banks

are clothed with the most luxuriant vegetation near the water's edge, whilst many lovely butterflies flitting from flower to flower add much life and colour to the scene. Some of the reaches are not unlike the most perfect parts of the Lynn in Devonshire, a few Oriental palms and dragon-trees alone preventing one from imagining one's self at home. The ground in places is covered with quartz, spar, and shale, whilst outcrops of granite and various sandstones are also met with. Laurustinus, holly, drawf oak, and the dragon-tree, grow everywhere along the river.

For the next few days our progress through the hills was still slow and laboured, as the country was much broken and, for the most part, densely wooded, which entailed much clearing work on the advance guard. When, therefore, on October 24, we at length emerged on to the Karamojo plains, and saw the lofty Elgon Mountain away in the distance, none of us regretted the charming scenery left behind, as we hoped now to travel faster, for our food-supply was becoming well-nigh exhausted. We saw game again now almost for the first time since leaving Baringo, and, on issuing out of the hills through a deep rift enclosed by fine rocky scarps, passed numerous recent traces of elephants. Two rhinos welcomed the advent of the column into open country by charging and ignominiously dispersing a portion of the caravan, the porters throwing down their loads and making record times to all points of the compass. Next day we reached and crossed the river Turkwel, of which we were to see so much during our subsequent travels, and camped again on the 26th for a second time on its bank. On this day we met a few Wa-Karamojo, who reported that food was only obtainable in very small quantities in their populated districts further north, as the country had recently been visited by great drought, and that a Swahili caravan which had lately been there was compelled to return to Save, on the northern slopes of Elgon, as it had been unable

to maintain itself. This, I feared, would very seriously interfere with Major Macdonald's plans; but, as it appeared useless proceeding where no food was obtainable, I decided to alter our course to Save, which I had always heard of as a veritable Goshen.

On October 27, therefore, instead of striking in a northerly direction towards Mount Dabasien, we continued in a south-westerly one to a small stream known as the Rarosia, and next day to some pools near a conical peak on a ridge, which constitutes the water-parting hereabouts between the streams that flow into the Turkwel and so towards Lake Rudolf, and those which, flowing into the small chain of lakes to the north of Elgon, subsequently find their way to the mighty Nile. During these two days we had passed several small colonies of wandering Wa-Karamojo, though what all the men, women, and children lived on in this barren waste was a mystery to us. Their existence must have been a precarious one, as they appeared entirely to be dependent for their food on tamarinds, species of wild melons, birds, and what game the men were enabled to spear. In spite of this, some of the men were the most magnificent specimens of humanity I had ever seen, with grand powerful limbs, chests, and shoulders. As they were quite devoid of any such vanities as clothing or skins, their fine proportions were displayed to the best advantage, for elephant-hide sandals on their feet was all they wore. The elder women were by no means comely, but were decently clad in skins, whilst numbers of beads made of ostrich egg-shells and other varieties were hung in great profusion round the neck.

On October 29 a march of twelve miles brought us to a powerful stream—the Kisimchanga—at the foot of the northern slopes of the Elgon mass. We continued in a westerly direction at the foot of these spurs for the next two marches through fairly open grass, over a plain on which

numerous earth boils, almost perfect cones in shape, were dotted about, whilst here and there fantastic rocks sprung up. We then reached a stream, from which the ascent to the Save plateau was be made. Formerly, the base of Mount Elgon hereabouts was thickly populated by thriving, industrious natives, who tilled the fertile soil and lived in flourishing villages; but they became the prey of marauding bands of Masai warriors of the Guas' Ngishu plateau to the south and the powerful Karamojo tribe to the north, so were compelled to abandon their homes on the plain, and seek refuge in the mountain fastnesses of Elgon, and it was to their present settlements we were about to ascend in search for food. Owing to the steep and difficult nature of the ascent of 2,000 feet, which was pointed out to us, it was obvious that we could not hope to take our transport animals up, so I decided to establish a permanent post at the foot of the hill, at which they could all be left under suitable guard, as well as all the stores, equipment, etc., not immediately necessary for present requirements. In spite of half-rations being issued, supplemented with meat, we had only six bags of flour left, and the porters had lately been showing serious signs of exhaustion after all their hard work in the Muroni. We heard, however, that a large Swahili trading caravan had been settled for the last three years in a stockaded enclosure on the plateau, so, relying on being able to obtain food from them, it was arranged to leave these bags of flour for the use of the garrison until such time as more could be sent down to them from above.

On November 1 we experienced a long and trying day before we reached the populated district of Save, as the porters found the stiff climb almost beyond their powers in their present weak state. The higher we ascended, the more glorious became the view and fresher the air, and the more charming our surroundings; but we had little leisure to enjoy these, as our immediate desire was to get everybody

into camp before dark. Eventually we reached the Swahili traders' stockade, the occupants of which came out to meet us in spotlessly clean flowing robes, which formed a marked contrast to the ragged, bedraggled appearance of our hard-worked porters. Osborn had already pitched camp on the opposite bank of the stream to that on which the stockade existed, and, looking down from the higher ground on to our camp, I thought I had seldom seen so lovely a spot, and in truth I had seen many a lovely one in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America before that day. The Swahili traders supplied us with three and a half bags of flour the same evening for our weary men, and I commenced negotiations with them regarding the purchase of some 600 bags more for the expedition.

Let us rest awhile now after our hard day's work, and bring this chapter to a close before proceeding with my narrative. The memories of that pleasant, peaceful existence in our mountain home which we had now reached have always lingered in my thoughts; preceded as it was by days of slow and exasperating progress through the Suk hills, and to be so soon followed by war's wild alarms, when fighting with a savage foe.

CHAPTER VI

SAVE TO LUBWA'S

FROM our lofty position on the northern spurs of Elgon a fine view was always obtainable on a clear day across the huge plain some 2,000 feet below us, which was not unlike the ocean in appearance rather than the barren, inhospitable waste we knew it to be. Looking north, the grand crags and rugged outline of Mount Dabasien, which attains a height of close on 10,000 feet, was the most striking feature of the landscape, rising abruptly, as it does, out of the plains, and standing out in bold relief—a marked contrast to the more distant and faintly discernible Moroto and Kamalinga Hills further north, and the continuation of the Suk range away to the north-east. Turning west, one's eyes were refreshed by the green, swampy plain of Kimama, with its chain of small lakes glistening in the sunlight like so many jewels. Our own immediate surroundings were perhaps still more pleasing. Facing south, towards the summit of the great Elgon crater, which reaches an altitude of over 14,000 feet above sea-level, one's gaze is arrested by perpendicular walls of rock and beetling cliffs, the summits of which are densely wooded with vegetation of most variegated tints and hues. The numerous spurs and banks of the many mountain torrents, coursing in all directions down the sides of the hill, are thickly cultivated with bananas, Indian corn, mtama (or dura), beans, pumpkins, yams, and various other food-stuffs; whilst beautiful turf and short sweet clover-covered grass affords excellent pasturage for the goats and sheep

View of Mount Dabasien and the Karamojo Plains.

of the several mountain tribes occupying these northern spurs.

The little hamlets dotted about consist generally of a cluster of perhaps half a dozen huts and a granary enclosed by a palisade or growing hedge, the huts being constructed of mud and wattle, circular in shape, with a low entrance and flat roof of grass thickly covered over with earth, whilst the granaries, which are raised above the ground, are generally of wicker-work. The natives in many respects are not unlike the Wa-Kikuyu, as they smear their bodies over with the same chocolate-coloured clay, liberally mixed with fat, and work their hair into the similar mop-head style. Their ears are, however, not distended to quite so great an extent, and they wear few ornaments beyond a little iron chain and iron wire round their necks and wrists, and perhaps an ivory bracelet in addition round their biceps, whilst a leather belt, adorned with cowrie shells round the waist, is also very generally worn by the young bloods. A small goat-skin, well cured and greased, and soft as chamois leather, is thrown jauntily over one shoulder, whilst in his hand the young warrior carries either a long-handled spear with small blade or a bow and arrows, and a long, narrow, oval-shaped shield of thick hide.

The elder women wear two hides, and are satisfied with a ring or two of iron wire round the neck, and similar ornaments round the wrists. They are great smokers, and, like the elderly ladies of Kavirondo, strut about with pipes, consisting of small earthenware bowls, to which are attached long wooden stems. They grow their own tobacco on the premises, as every little hamlet has its own tobacco plot just outside the enclosure. I am a very heavy smoker myself, but these ladies seldom had their pipes out of their mouths, and I dare say would comfortably consume in a day what would last me for a week. The young unmarried girls wear a very simple costume, consisting of a ring or two of

iron wire round the neck and a small leather apron 8 to 9 inches square, or a fringe of beads, not unlike rosaries, of the same size, which depends in front from a girdle round the waist, whilst a similar, though somewhat larger, covering of hide falls behind. In the Save district, where we now were, beads appeared to be absolutely never worn by the natives except a few of a black variety, which seemed to take the place of iron wire. We had much difficulty regarding the purchase of food in consequence, as our chief trade goods consisted of many different assortments of beads. When I asked their chief the reason of his people not caring for these, he replied beads were of no use to them; they wanted iron wire, from which they could make all their agricultural implements, besides axes, knives, spears, arrow-heads, etc.—a very sensible reason, but, unfortunately, one that hit us hard, as we only had one 60-pound load of iron wire, a most uneconomical medium for purchasing flour, though most useful for obtaining live-stock, such as goats and sheep.

Our negotiations with the Swahili traders regarding supply of food soon fell through, as they took advantage of our more or less starving condition, and asked 30 rupees (about £2 sterling) for a bag of 60 pounds, whereas I had offered three and was prepared to pay five! As the money transaction failed, they suggested a deal in cloth, to which I was agreeable, as we had large quantities of trade cloth done up in bales weighing about 60 pounds each. I expected to receive at least fifty bags of flour for one bale of cloth; they offered six. No deal. We were on our own again; but the traders, who saw it was at least good policy to remain on friendly terms with a Government expedition, helped us in many ways to obtain food for our daily requirements from the natives, though there seemed little or no prospect of obtaining sufficient in this neighbourhood to store the 500 loads required by Macdonald for the three

columns. We had a certain number of small iron axeheads also amongst our trade goods, which went very readily, and with the help of these—for each of which we obtained at least a bag of flour—and some cloth and iron wire, we just managed to keep ourselves and the garrison at the foot of the hill. Then, when everything else had seemed to fall flat, we slaughtered oxen and sold the meat in return for flour, beans, and hanks of bananas.

At length, on November 8, a party of our men returned from another district called Mbai, some five hours distant in a south-westerly direction along the Elgon spurs, to which they had been sent with a few trade goods, such as axeheads, beads, and cloth, and reported a ready market for these goods at that place. By dint of long and slow bargaining we had succeeded in obtaining some twenty bags of flour for despatch to the Marich garrison, so I decided to split up our camp next day at Save. Tracy and Osborn, therefore, proceeded on the 9th with a party of some thirty-five men to Mbai, carrying trade goods and so on in order to open out a market; this proved an unqualified success in course of time, and from here, at various periods during the next year, some 4,000 loads of banana flour, chiefly, were obtained. Tracy and Osborn deserve much credit for the able way in which they established such friendly relations with the chiefs and natives of Mbai, to which much of the success of the subsequent operations of the expedition following on the mutiny was due, as it was to a large extent dependent for its food-supply on the markets now about to be established. On the same day the Marich party of two N.C.O.'s and eighteen Swahilis were despatched with flour for that place, and instructions that all deserters who had come in to the post there were to be made prisoners. I must explain that since leaving Marich, and before we reached Save, several further cases of desertion had occurred amongst the porters, on one night in particular no less than six men having gone

off in a body, after we had obtained our first view of Elgon. They well knew that beyond that mountain to the west lay the fertile districts of Ketosh and Kavirondo. Their rations now were small, but soon they hoped to revel in plenty, so off they tramped. Some weeks later one wretched individual turned up in the younger Macdonald's camp, when he and Ferguson were proceeding round the eastern base of Elgon towards Mumia's, *en route* to the scene of the fighting at Lubwa's. He explained who he was, but so thin and emaciated had he become that Ferguson could barely recognise him, for all this time he had been merely living on tamarinds and other unsatisfying diet. He reported that the remainder of his comrades had all been killed by lions, and that he alone had escaped, and had been through most dreadful experiences (which must undoubtedly have been true), sleeping up in trees at night and so on. Altogether we had lost five porters by death and sixteen by desertion since leaving Ngare Nyuki, and I thought it not unlikely that the majority had found their way back perhaps to Marich. In this I was mistaken, as I believe subsequently, when the Marich post was withdrawn by Tracy, in accordance with instructions after I had left for Lubwa's, only two or three were brought in to Save by the garrison of that place.

About this time we were compelled to remove all our donkeys and cattle up to our camp from below, as a malignant fly was reported to be causing sickness amongst them, and our poor Masai were becoming ill from want of sleep, owing to the persecution of mosquitoes. On November 12 I heard from Tracy, who said he and Osborn had been visited by five or six chiefs, and had obtained ten goats and sheep and some eleven bags of flour as presents. He wanted some other varieties of beads besides those he had taken with him, and spoke hopefully of the prospects regarding food, of which he was sending in fifteen bags. Ferguson proceeded with sixteen or seventeen men to the half-way place,

carrying some brass wire, more beads, etc., which he handed over to Tracy's men, who returned to Mbai with these, whilst Ferguson's men brought on the fifteen loads of flour, for which we were grateful, as at Save itself we were unable even to maintain ourselves and the garrison at the foot of the hill.

On the evening of November 13, whilst it was pouring with rain, and I was trying to while away a little time with my banjo in my tent, a drenched apparition suddenly poked his head through the entrance of my abode. It was some time before I recognised that it was Norman Macdonald. The day before he and Bright, who had left the Ravine station on October 3 with a huge caravan of some 180 donkeys, 200 cattle, and 13 camels, following our tracks camp by camp to Marich, were halted on the Kisimchanga stream. Here a party of some eighteen Swahilis, bound for Karamojo from Mumia's with an urgent letter for me from his brother at Lubwa's, had found their way into his camp, and handed the letter over to Macdonald. The latter, seeing it marked 'pressing,' at once opened it, and, on learning the serious nature of its contents, at once decided to push straight through to me next day, leaving Bright to bring on the column. With half a dozen men carrying his bare necessities, he accomplished the three marches between sunrise and sunset, and had now arrived, dog-tired and wet through to the skin. The letter he brought me recounted the course of events since we had marched from Ngare Nyuki, and how the mutiny had assumed a most serious aspect. It concluded by ordering me to withdraw the Marich post, and to form a post in Karamojo (where it was thought that I at present was), leaving all expedition stores there under charge of two officers and 100 men, and to proceed with all haste to Lubwa's with such men and ammunition as I could take with me.

To reach Mumia's we should have to travel through a

foodless tract of country for ten days, round the eastern slopes of Elgon, until the fertile food district of Ketosh was entered; it would be necessary first, therefore, to collect sufficient food at Save for this purpose. On November 16 I started Macdonald and Ferguson off with some 15 Sikhs and 150 Swahilis, a Maxim, and ammunition, with fifty loads of flour and a few oxen, whilst on the 19th Osborn and I followed with 75 Swahilis and 16 of the runners who had brought the letter for me from the Major, carrying some twenty-three boxes of ammunition and various other stores, in addition to thirty bags of flour for the journey to Ketosh. Tracy accompanied us to the lower 'boma' (post), as he was to be left in command at Save, and I had many details to discuss with him before I left regarding establishing an advanced depot in Karamojo, etc. Bright had reached our camp on the hill on the day Macdonald had left, and was now at Mbai, continuing the purchase of food, as he, too, was to remain to assist Tracy. The post at Marich had already been ordered to be withdrawn, as Macdonald had met my food party proceeding to that place, and, on receipt of the letter to me from his brother, had sent men after the food party, who had only left him the previous day, with instructions that when they arrived at Marich they were to return with the garrison, carrying such stores as they could. Tracy was now to complete the withdrawal by sending additional assistance to remove all stores from that place, merely leaving the steel boat there until we could pick it up again at a later period.

Everything having been finally and definitely settled with Tracy, Osborn and I left the lower post on November 20, and commenced our journey to Mumia's and Lubwa's. We retraced our former footsteps to the Kisimchanga, and thence branched off on the 22nd and continued in a south-easterly direction, the latter portion of the march being over very difficult hilly country, spurs of Elgon. We camped for the

night at the foot of a lofty rocky bluff, towering high above the level of the prominent ridge from which it springs. Continuing next day in a southerly direction, the entire march was spent in descending into valleys, rising out of them, crossing ridges, or proceeding along spurs. Six miles from our previous camp we forded the headwaters of the Turkwel River, and during the day's tramp negotiated some half-dozen large streams, in addition to numerous smaller ones, all of which eventually find their way into the Turkwel. We still pursued our course south next day over the Elgon spurs, the mountain being most liberally provided with water. We again crossed, during the march of fourteen miles, four large streams, in addition to two or three smaller ones. During the latter part of the day's journey we trended slightly east, cleared the spurs, and travelled over a grassy plain, the edge of the great Guas' Ngishu plateau, which extends away to the east to the summit of the Elgeyo escarpment and south as far as Nandi. Mount Chibcharagnani, which attains a height of 10,000 feet, and in which the Muroni River rises, was clearly discernible out on this plain to the east of us. Game was very abundant, but we had little leisure now for shooting, and we saw many hartebeeste and a fine herd of about twenty giraffes. It was very raw and cold that night on the plateau, and when we got up next morning we found the whole plain enveloped in a dense Scotch mist. It was very miserable marching before the sun rose, as the grass was steeped in dew, and we were all soon wet through to the skin. I have seldom welcomed old King Sol more than on that day.

Osborn and I were both fortunate enough to shoot a hartebeeste each, so the men had plenty of meat that day. We again forded four or five streams, and about the middle of the day's march ascended over a ridge which formed the water parting between streams flowing into the Turkwel and those which, eventually joining the Nzoia, pour their

waters into the Victoria Nyanza. Still marching in a southerly direction, next day we crossed seven or eight streams, separated from each other by long, easy, grassy spurs; but instead of clear running water, these streams were nearly all of a swampy nature, and we had some gruesome black filth to wade through in places, whilst the vegetation on their banks was of a very dense and luxuriant nature. We had now commenced to round the southern limits of Elgon, and the following day proceeded almost due east, but soon after leaving camp encountered a big swamp, which had fortunately been bridged by Macdonald and Ferguson, so it did not delay us long, although obstructing the other column, whose camping-ground we found a short way on. During the entire march we traversed tall grass country, which made it difficult to see at all. We travelled at the foot of a rocky escarpment in which Elgon terminates to the south, and here we obtained sights of some of the rock caves for which the mountain is noted. The entrances were protected by strong barriers of thorns, whilst the natives remained perched on the summit of the cliffs, like so many vultures, watching the column file past. We again continued in a westerly direction on November 28 at the foot of the escarpment, crossing some six streams, two or three of which were really fine ones, although the others were swampy and unpleasant to negotiate.

On this day we met a party of Swahilis, whom I had despatched from Save on November 4 with a note for Major Macdonald, who I expected might be on his way to join us viâ Mumia's, telling him of our early difficulties regarding the purchasing of food, and asking that he should bring cowrie shells with him, as they were more popular than any other form of trade goods at Save. The letter had been forwarded from Mumia's by the officer in charge to Lubwa's, whilst he sent back the men to Save with cowries and brass wire. As, however, Tracy had established his market and

now could do without these things, I decided to take the seven men on with me.

Game-pits are very plentiful hereabouts, and are so skilfully concealed that it is positively dangerous to leave the track which we were following, as in places the trap may be only a few feet to one side. One of our wretched donkeys during the march quietly strolled to one side, and suddenly disappeared into what seemed perfectly solid ground. The poor beast was killed almost at once, as a long sharpened stake was placed at the bottom of the pit, which, entering its stomach, came out at its back.

One long march more of fourteen miles almost due south brought us to the first cluster of Ketosh villages, and I once more resumed my acquaintance of five and a half years previously with the black swamps of this country, for during the last five miles Osborn and I had been floundering about in filthy black mud, slime, and water. However, we were in food country again, as at the close of the march we passed through plantations of bananas, whilst the slopes of the small valleys were extensively cultivated with beans, mtama, Indian corn, sweet potatoes, and yams. Crowds of natives swarmed in and about camp during the afternoon, all bringing in plenty of food for sale, and taking any kinds of trade beads very readily, and even dirty pieces of cloth which the porters stripped off their backs. Our flour was exhausted, but the men were provided with three strings of beads each with which to ration themselves to Mumia's, where we hoped to arrive in three more marches; but as fuel is so scarce, this had to be purchased in addition to food from the natives. Next day we continued south, passing many villages and much cultivation. The natives turned out in numbers to see the caravan pass, and, taking up commanding positions on small ant-hills, greeted us with their cheery 'Mirembe, mirembe!' which is their form of salutation, equivalent to the Swahili 'Jambo,'

Maisa 'Sobaj,' or our 'How do you do?' On December 1 we reached Majanja village, with the Sultan of which place I had had dealings in 1892, when surveying the lower slopes of Elgon from Mumia's. The old man was still hale and hearty, and brought us in presents of honey, bananas, and a goat, for which he received suitable returns in the way of cloth and brass wire.

We here received letters from Woodward and a circular note from Macdonald, describing the course of events at Lubwa's and in Uganda since writing on October 27, and bringing them up to November 26. We were again urged to proceed to the scene of the fighting as expeditiously as possible, for the Waganda were much disheartened by their heavy losses on November 24, and there seemed every possibility of the Buddu and Unyoro garrisons throwing in their lot with the mutineers. A march of eleven and a half miles on December 2, at the end of which we reached and forded the Nzoia River, brought us to the Government station at Mumia's, and we were once more on the Uganda road, so for a time I closed the surveys I had made since leaving Ngare Nyuki at this point.

Before continuing our journey to the scene of the fighting at Lubwa's, it may perhaps be of some interest to say a few words regarding the Ketosh people we had seen. In many respects they closely resemble the Wa-Kavirondo round about Mumia's, more especially in the way of dress —or perhaps undress would be a more accurate description. Some of the men are fine specimens of humanity, standing over 6 feet in height, and absolutely naked except for a small flap of goat-skin thrown across one shoulder, with a few coils of iron wire round their upper arms. The hair of the head is generally short, curly, and evenly shaved along the edge of the scalp, which in some cases gives the men the appearance of wearing astrakhan caps; the young bloods round the outside of the edge of hair fasten a couple of

strands of what seems to be yellow braid. The elder married women generally wear merely a narrow band round the waist, from which depends in front a small fringe of thread, perhaps 6 inches square, whilst an artificial tail of the same material, or narrow goat-skin, hangs behind. The unmarried girls and maidens, like the men, are quite naked, all they wear being a string of beads round the waist—a simple and naïve form of dress, which displays their pretty forms and well-rounded limbs to the best advantage, as they all possess beautiful skins. Many of the women have their lower lips pierced, after the manner of the Wa-Suk men, and insert a small elongated white stone, not unlike a crystal, into the orifice so formed.

The villages and huts of the natives are generally well and substantially built, the whole being surrounded by a high wall and deep ditch in front. Entrance to the village is obtained only in two or three places by means of causeways across the ditch at re-entering angles of the wall, from which they are well flanked on both sides, whilst the actual doorway is strongly barricaded by logs. Some villages that had a short time before to be punished in Ketosh by Government forces of Sudanese troops proved very hard nuts to crack, and Sitwell, now in Toru at the time we marched through Ketosh, with great difficulty got his men to assault them, in spite of the natives within being armed only with spears. The interior of the villages is kept scrupulously clean, but I can hardly say the same for the exterior surroundings of the wall. Within the enclosure plantations of bananas and tobacco are frequently grown (the men and women are great smokers), so that in the event of a siege the food-supply is pretty well assured. The huts and granaries are constructed of neat wicker-work, the latter raised from the ground on piles, and the former dome-shaped erections of twigs and wattle with raised grass roofs, very snug inside and beautifully clean, though very dark, as the only light and ventila-

tion arranged for is the low entrance, not more than 2½ feet in height. Outside this entrance is generally a low veranda, under which the women work and grind their flour.

Great changes had occurred at Mumia's since 1892, for the former large village of that name, near which the Government post had since been established, had been cleared away and abandoned by the natives, who had erected smaller villages on other sites in the neighbourhood. The fort was a fine one, the interior being well laid out, whilst commodious buildings of wood, mud, and grass had been built for the accommodation of the officials and garrison, as well as store-rooms for flour, trade goods, etc. A large colony of Masai men and women were settled down now in Mumia's, where they were utilized to look after Government flocks and herds, and as letter carriers, being especially trustworthy and speedy when conveying mails.

As we had marched some 150 miles from Save without a halt, I decided to give the men a day's rest, and then push straight through to Lubwa's, which was still close on 100 miles distant; for the men, who had been carrying full boxes of ammunition over difficult country from Save, were much fatigued. On arrival at Mumia's a few days before us, Norman Macdonald had started off at once with the Sikhs, Maxim, and sixty porters by double marches, leaving Ferguson to follow with the rest of the column and the ammunition on the following day. There was only a Eurasian clerk in charge at Mumia's, as every European in the country had proceeded to Lubwa's, but we gleaned a certain amount of information from him regarding reinforcements which had lately passed through under Bagnall, Harrison, and Corporal Brodie, R.E.

On December 4 Osborn and I took the road again, crossing the Nzoia that day by means of the ferry-boat, and camping some thirteen and a half miles from Mumia's, near the village of Ndui, being delayed a good deal on the road by several

A Group of Maidens—on the shores of the Victoria Nyanza.

swampy streams. We were followed by strings of natives, carrying eggs, fowls, honey, bananas, flour, Indian corn, sweet potatoes, firewood, etc., and brisk trade ensued after camp had been pitched. Pushing on some fifteen and a half miles next day through mostly uninhabited country, we reached the foot of the Samia Hills, and, fording a swampy stream, camped near two large villages, from which the natives brought flour for sale. On December 6 we continued through the Samia range, and, on reaching the western slopes, obtained our first view of the Victoria Nyanza at the mouth of the Sio River. The latter was reached after encountering several bad swamps eight miles from the start, and we were occupied some time in dodging up an old fish weir to enable the caravan to cross, as the water was out of the depth of our men. We spent one and a half hours in getting over to the far bank, which was only thirty to forty yards distant, and then proceeded for another six miles before camping. Many villages were passed during the latter portion of the march, and camp was soon swarming with natives dressed in the Garden of Eden style, hawking their goods for sale.

A sixteen-mile march next day, the first nine of which were through uninhabited grass-land, until we came upon the famous banana plantations of Usoga (through which we wound our way for the last seven miles), brought us to our first camping-ground in that country, near a large rock pool. We were visited by the chief, Namarungi, who, accompanied by a large following of men and women, came to pay us his respects in the afternoon, bringing us many bananas for our porters. He was preceded by men carrying a high-backed chair, of which he seemed inordinately proud, and in which he sat outside my tent for a long time, smoking the cigarettes Osborn and I offered to him, and sipping pombé (drink made from banana-juice) out of a gourd bowl, with a long hollow stem leading into it. The change from the

naked savages of yesterday to the well-clothed partial civilization of to-day was peculiarly abrupt, as here now we were seated amongst men and women, all of whom were decently, and not unpicturesquely, clad in long flowing togas of a ruddy brown colour, made of fibre, and fastened by a knot at the top of one shoulder. The features were more refined and intelligent, whilst not a few of the women were almost pretty, even to a European mind.

In Kavirondo, Usoga, and Uganda at this time the natives were suffering much from 'jiggers,' tiny insects which burrow right under the toenails of individuals, and lay their eggs in a small skin-like sack. If this is not at once removed, and the eggs are allowed to hatch, or the sack broken when being extracted, in a short time repulsive sloughing ulcers are formed, which eat away the whole of the toe—and, indeed, in some cases I have seen natives with no toes at all, the whole foot having been converted into a horrible mass of corruption through neglect. Several of the Wasoga came to us for treatment for these dreadful ulcers, which we thoroughly cauterized with nitrate of silver, and then dressed with iodoform.

Continuing some eleven miles next day through endless plantations of bananas and tall, fine trees—the homes of numerous grey parrots—and crossing several swampy streams, the rustic bridges over which had for the most part been destroyed by the mutineers during their passage through this country, we reached Wakoli's. Few huts are seen along the road, for these are scattered in twos and threes amongst the plantations, and are seldom visible from the track, although the population of Usoga is large. The old Wakoli stockade appeared to be entirely occupied by Masai, and after camp had been pitched several of them came and asked me to go round there and treat some of the sick, who were so lame from jiggers that they were unable to walk. I spent one and a half hours during the afternoon with

them, many of the wretched women and children being in a dreadful condition. They were so plucky, though, and when I told the women I should hurt them by cauterizing their ulcers, they merely replied, 'We are Masai,' and never flinched. Even toddling infants brought to me by their mothers sat down with a grim look on their little faces and uttered no sound, for their mothers kept repeating to them that they were Elmoran (Masai warriors), so must be brave and not mind the pain. It was really splendid; the Swahili usually writhes and groans, and yet here were young girls, tiny infants, and old women barely grimacing as the caustic burnt into them, and merely catching tightly hold of each other when being operated upon. They were so grateful, too, and I returned to camp feeling happier for being, in some small degree, able to do a little for this brave people.

A longish march of about fourteen miles next day, during which we were compelled to cross no less than eleven swampy streams, the bridges over which had nearly all been destroyed, brought us to Makoba's, only one march now from Lubwa's, and here I received a note from Major Macdonald in reply to one I had sent some days before, saying I hoped to be with him on December 10. Recently very heavy rains had been falling, and for the first three miles of our march on that day we were floundering about in swamp; but subsequently the track improved, and we passed through some beautifully wooded glades before reaching the mission station at the foot of the eastern slopes of Lubwa's Hill. The ascent accomplished, we found ourselves on the crest near the fortified camp, surrounded by a strong loopholed wall of stone and logs, and were shortly welcomed by our Chief, who came out to meet us.

CHAPTER VII

THE MUTINY OPERATIONS (*CONTINUED*)

I MUST now ask the reader to again accompany me throughout the mutiny operations; but before proceeding to narrate the course of events, let me briefly describe the position at Lubwa's on our arrival. From October 18 to the beginning of December, when reinforcements began to arrive, the Government troops consisted of 17 Sikhs, of whom 7 had been killed or wounded, and of an average of 350 partly trained Swahilis, mostly merely armed porters of the expedition, who had suffered a loss of 57. The Waganda force of 1,600 guns, chiefly muzzle-loaders, were perhaps equal to a tenth of the same number of Sudanese, whilst the 500 Wasoga were of still less account. During this period two engagements and seven skirmishes had taken place, in which our losses amounted to Lieutenant Fielding killed, Mr. Jackson dangerously wounded, Dr. Macpherson slightly so, 19 Government troops killed and 45 wounded, and 342 Waganda and 115 Wasoga killed and wounded, making a total loss already of 524. The Sudanese mutineers still numbered between 400 and 500 effective men, and were occupying a very strong position on the margin of the lake, and could obtain with ease plenty of food in the shape of bananas, with which the entire peninsula was densely covered. On the hill overlooking the peninsula, at a range of about 3,000 yards from the enemy's fort, was the main fort of the Government forces, whilst to the right was the large Waganda encampment, and out on the left flank that

occupied by our Wasoga allies. In addition to fighting men, large numbers of Waganda and Wasoga were employed for foraging purposes, daily bringing in large quantities of bananas for the maintenance of the investing force from the country to the rear of our position. It will be remembered that Thruston had taken the precaution to have all the Wasoga canoes removed from Lubwa's to the Uganda shores of Napoleon Gulf, the usual caravan ferry plying between Lubwa's and Lugumbwa, a distance of from five to seven miles across the mouth of the gulf. The mutineers, however, still possessed the steam-launch, which they captured with Scott and a Maxim on board, as well as a large wooden dhow capable of carrying sixty to seventy men, and several canoes besides. To prevent the mutineers breaking away by water, a fleet of canoes had been organized by Macdonald and Wilson, manned by Waganda canoemen and a few loyal Sudanese, under Messrs. Malek and Racey, who occupied the Lugumbwa promontory, and patrolled the lake day and night in the neighbourhood of the enemy's fort.

As soon as Harrison, Bagnall, Norman Macdonald, and Corporal Brodie had arrived with reinforcements, on December 7, an advanced fort on the peninsula had been constructed, 1,000 yards from the enemy's fort, by Woodward, the working parties being protected by covering parties under command of Harrison and Kirkpatrick. The main work was completed by 5 p.m., and held by 90 regulars and 140 Swahilis, who beat off a night attack the same day. On the 8th the fort was still further strengthened, and a redan or ravelin added to the front of the work. On the 9th and 10th the cutting down of the enemy's food-supply was commenced by the Waganda, covered by parties of regulars and Swahilis. Whilst these operations were again in progress on the 11th, the enemy made a desperate attack on the left flank with some 150 men, who crept up to within a few

yards, concealed by the long grass and the thick vegetation, which is so plentiful on the peninsula. The left flank of 100 Swahilis, under Norman Macdonald, was driven back, and he, whilst trying to rally his men in the most gallant manner, was shot, and died almost instantaneously. The Sikhs and East Africa Rifles beat off the attack after most desperate fighting at close quarters, and the Swahilis rallied. On our right, almost at the same moment, Pilkington, who was in charge of the Waganda cutting parties, had moved up into the fighting line to discuss certain details with Harrison, and here he, too, was mortally wounded, and died very shortly after. Our total loss amounted to thirty-one killed and wounded. That same evening we buried poor Pilkington and Macdonald on the crest of the hill with the most heartfelt sorrow. In the former the Waganda had lost their most ardent admirer and companion, and we the best of friends, whilst the latter to us was an irreparable loss, as his gallant soldierly qualities and his strict sense of duty had endeared him to all of us who knew him well. The grief we all felt for our Chief in his dreadful bereavement could find no expression in words. One could not help but admire, however, the noble way in which he bore his loss, which still further increased his determination to bring the mutineers to book for all the sufferings they had caused.

It was now decided, as the mutineers could still obtain their food-supply at night, by passing the advanced fort some distance from it along the lake shore, to establish two more forts—one on the left flank and one on the right, thus restricting the enemy to a smaller area from which they could draw food. Lieutenant Scott, with a force of 150 Punjabi Mohammedans, was on his way from Mombasa to join us, and it was hoped, on his arrival, it would be possible to carry the enemy's position by assault. Cutting and clearing operations for the construction of another small post on the left flank were already in progress, the site being

chosen and marked out, and its erection was about to be undertaken when alarming news arrived from Buddu. On December 18 Macdonald received information that the 200 Sudanese there intended joining one Gabriel, an outlawed Mganda chief, who had again taken up arms, and was accompanied by some 500 Waganda guns of Mwanga's faction. It was imperative that the investing force should send assistance to combat this fresh complication, so on December 20 Macdonald started with 46 regulars and 154 Swahilis for Buddu, viâ canoe to Kampala. The investing force was consequently so reduced in numbers that it was now impossible to occupy any further posts even were they established, and the project had therefore to be abandoned until such time as further reinforcements from the coast should arrive, and active operations again be resumed. On arrival at Kampala news was received that fifty of the Sudanese in Buddu had agreed to accompany Hobart and a force of Waganda guns against Gabriel, and a few days later further information was received that Gabriel's force had been dispersed.

Macdonald therefore decided to return again to Lubwa's, and resume command of the operations there. He was on his way back when, on December 31, he heard from George Wilson that Mwanga had escaped from German territory and landed in Buddu. It must be remembered that when Mwanga was defeated by Ternan shortly before the escort had been despatched to us, the ex-King had taken refuge in German territory, where he had been made a prisoner by the officials. Whilst we were engaged with the mutineers at Lubwa's, Wilson learned that efforts were being made by the adherents of the ex-King to effect his escape, in order to raise a dangerous complication in favour of the mutineers. He accordingly warned the German authorities, but had only a few days previously received a reply to say that every precaution was being taken, and that his escape was practi-

cally impossible. However, his escape was now an accomplished fact, and here he was marching on Buddu with a large force, almost wholly recruited from German territory. He was accompanied by some 2,000 guns, and the Sudanese in Buddu refused to proceed against him, and were, moreover, in communication with Mwanga, with whom it seemed likely they would throw in their lot, to create a diversion in favour of their comrades invested at Lubwa's. Macdonald at once left for Buddu with his force, still further augmented by 200 Waganda guns, and, on effecting a junction with Hobart on January 8, at once disarmed 150 of the 200 Sudanese, who were untrustworthy. The remaining 50, under Hobart, continued with Macdonald's force to where Mwanga's army was assembled, and at Kisalira, on January 15, 1898, Macdonald completely defeated the ex-King. Meanwhile he had heard of the escape of the mutineers from Lubwa's, and, leaving Kirkpatrick and McLoughlin to carry out the pursuit of Mwanga's army, returned with all haste with Osborn, the Sikhs, and a few Swahilis to Kampala, in order to again resume command of the operations against the mutineers, whose escape had created an extremely grave situation. It was perfectly obvious to the meanest intellect that did they once succeed in reaching the Unyoro garrisons and raise them, with assistance so far away, the Protectorate would in all human probability be overwhelmed by the combined forces brought into the field against it. The 27th Baluch Regiment had been despatched from India as soon as the critical situation in Uganda had been realized; but as the first detachment of the regiment, under Major Price, did not reach Kampala until the beginning of March, no help in that direction could be relied on. I must now hark back for a time to the events which had occurred at Lubwa's during the absence of Major Macdonald operating against Mwanga.

On leaving for Buddu, Macdonald had handed over

command at Lubwa's to Woodward. As half of Harrison's East Africa Rifles had proceeded with Macdonald to Buddu under command of Molony, the advanced fort on the peninsula was commanded by Harrison and some forty of his men, a few Sikhs, who had charge of two Maxims mounted in the two small bastions of the work, and detachments of Swahilis under Ferguson, Malcolm (of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders), Gemmell (a civilian), and myself. The remainder of the Government forces occupied the main fort on the crest of the hill, with Waganda on the right and Wasoga on the left. On December 23 the Wasoga tried to cut off some Sudanese, who had been out foraging for food, and, becoming hotly engaged, Malcolm was sent out with his Swahilis, some of Harrison's men, and ten Sikhs to support them on our left. As the Sudanese were coming out in force from the fort to assist their comrades, I was also ordered out to reinforce, and, as Harrison did not wish to become involved in a general engagement, to withdraw the troops into the fort. Further reinforcements were sent down by Woodward under Fowler, and the Waganda also came down and attacked the Sudanese on the right, losing ten men killed and nine wounded in a few minutes.

Although shots were exchanged nearly every day, no fighting of any consequence occurred until the night of January 1. We sent our New Year's greeting to the mutineers in the form of a Hotchkiss 3-pounder shell from the upper fort at one minute past twelve midnight. Shortly before 3 a.m. those of us not on watch were aroused by a tremendous fusillade from the direction of the Waganda entrenchments on the crest of the hill. The Sudanese had returned the compliments of the season by attacking our allies in force, and we who were in the fort below were getting the best part of the benefit of our allies' bullets. The attack was successfully repulsed, the Waganda only losing four men; the loss of the enemy was unknown, as, in spite of numerous

traces of blood, all their casualties had been removed. One of the mutineers hit must have been a man of some importance, as where he fell, in a patch of blood, was found poor Thruston's gold watch-chain with compass attached. The Waganda were hugely elated at their success, and recovered a good deal of their spirits. About January 3 Malek succeeded in capturing a canoe with twelve mutineers who were out foraging on the lake. On the night of January 7 two deserters came into the advanced fort and gave themselves up, and were followed before daylight by three others, seven women, and three children. One of them was a corporal who had deserted me at Njemps, from whom we elicited much information; he told us the mutineers were meditating an attempt to break out by water, utilizing the dhow for this purpose to cross to a promontory about two miles across the lake from their present fort at Lubwa's. The Sudanese, he said, still possessed from twenty to thirty rounds of ammunition per man, and had strongly loopholed their fort, which they regarded as impregnable. One tier of loopholes was right down on the ground on a level with the top of the ditch, the men lying in regular excavated pits, in which it was impossible that they should be hit. He laughingly added: 'You may be able to beat us in the open, but don't make an attempt to storm the fort.'

The Sudanese apparently succeeded in transporting a number of men and women to the promontory that night; but next night Fowler, accompanied by Malek and Racey, made a gallant attempt to sink the dhow by Maxim fire when crossing. Unfortunately, the gun jammed after a few shots had been fired, and his crew of Waganda turned tail and paddled away for all they were worth when the mutineers in the dhow returned the fire. Woodward now ordered the evacuation of the advanced fort, the Government forces remaining concentrated at the upper fort, whilst 1,000

Waganda guns were despatched to the Nile and the Uganda side of Napoleon Gulf to dispute the crossing of the mutineers at either of these points, should it be attempted. By January 9 the enemy's fort had been entirely evacuated, and a column of 250 men under Harrison, including 40 of his men, 10 Sikhs, and 200 Swahilis, crossed from Lubwa's to Lugumbwa's to reinforce the Waganda. On reaching the recently abandoned position of the mutineers, we found the interior of the fort crowded with grass huts, and so honeycombed with underground shelters, where the mutineers were in the habit of sleeping safe from the effects of Hotchkiss or any other fire, that it resembled a rabbit warren more than anything else. The loophole arrangements we found had been faithfully described by the men who had surrendered, and the work would certainly have been a very tough nut to crack by assault. As it was 3 p.m. before we could obtain canoes to cross, it was past eight before we reached Lugumbwa's. Next day Harrison, Ferguson, Malcolm, Gemmell, and I continued with the column some three and a half miles up Napoleon Gulf, and occupied a position midway between Lugumbwa's and the Nile crossing at Jinja, at which latter place were Fowler and Lloyd, the enterprising sporting missionary, in a small fort occupied by 400 Waganda. The mutineers had constructed an entrenched position on the promontory to which they had moved, whilst Woodward at Lubwa's was awaiting the arrival of Scott and his 150 Sepoys, who were daily expected.

On the night of the 12th Harrison received orders from Woodward to march down the Nile to intercept the mutineers, who were reported to be marching north towards Gabula, with a view to crossing it there. We halted at the Jinja ferry, and on the 14th received news that Scott had arrived, and was being followed by Barratt with sixty or seventy other Sepoys. About the same time we received information that Dugmore in Unyoro was experiencing great anxiety

regarding the attitude of his Sudanese. He wrote to say that, although not as yet openly rebellious, they were getting out of hand, and he could see that something was brewing, and they were likely to go at any moment should the mutineers draw near. He had therefore buried the locks of the Maxims under his charge, and informed Woodward of their hiding-place, in case anything should happen to him. On the 15th the Sudanese mutineers had evacuated the promontory on which they had remained since leaving Lubwa's. The following day a most serious report reached us at Jinja that the whole of the Unyoro garrisons had risen, had murdered Dugmore, Ansorge, and Moses, an Armenian interpreter, and, having now in their hands two Hotchkiss and four Maxim guns and 100 boxes of ammunition, were marching to join the escaped mutineers on the Nile. The most obvious and only thing now to do seemed to be to reinforce our column with the 150 newly arrived Indian troops under Scott, and proceed at once down the Nile to prevent, if possible, a junction between the Unyoro garrisons and the mutineers. We were ordered, however, back to Lubwa's to keep open the line of communication with Mumia's, whilst Woodward, Scott, and Dr. Moffat continued to Kampala, with the object of getting away the missionary ladies from the capital, and to hold that place until all the Europeans could join them. Fowler was to proceed by lake to Ntebi with Bousted Ridley's launch, the *Ruwenzori*, a native dhow, and the damaged launch, abandoned by the mutineers at Lubwa's, in order to convey the ladies and others to Port Victoria.

Harrison's column was back at Lubwa's on the night of January 17. The mutineer fort had been levelled to the ground, and during the next three or four days Corporal Brodie and I, with the assistance of the Wasoga, constructed a new fort not far from the site of the old one, which was garrisoned by Bagnall and Swahilis, when on the 22nd

Harrison received orders from Woodward to follow him to Kampala with his original column. The upper fort was held by the Katikiro Apollo and some 600 guns, when we vacated it, all the stores, etc., being removed to the lower, and placed under Bagnall's charge. During the morning and afternoon of the 22nd we crossed again to Lugumbwa's, and commenced the journey to the capital the same evening at 5 p.m., a cavalcade, including Waganda, some 500 strong and very heavily laden, as we were taking much ammunition with us. The fifty-six miles were covered in forty-nine hours, and before dark on January 24 we were camped on the parade-ground below the fort at Kampala. Whilst at Lubwa's on the 18th, we heard that the report regarding the Unyoro garrisons having risen was false; but we now heard that the mutineers were crossing the Nile, and were about to make for Mruli with the object of raising the Unyoro garrisons, having easily driven back the Waganda force that tried to dispute the passage of that river. We all well understood that should such a junction be effected nothing could save Uganda from destruction, seeing that the Baluch Regiment had not yet left Ndi at railhead, with the exception, perhaps, of Major Price and his small detachment of seventy-five Afridis. Under the circumstances it was with no small satisfaction that we welcomed the return of Macdonald from Buddu to resume command of the operations against the mutineers on January 26. In him we felt that if anyone could save the situation he was the right man; for so intimate was his knowledge of the country, and such confidence did we repose in him, that his advent acted like a charm on all. The Waganda, who had recently become much depressed regarding the escape of the mutineers, and had quietly deserted the various chiefs whose columns they had previously accompanied, on seeing Macdonald resume command again, at once flocked in large numbers to our standard, and were prepared to follow our Chief any-

where in the defence of their country against the hated Sudanese.

Shortly before the arrival of Harrison at Kampala, Woodward had decided to abandon the Nile and defend the Seziwa River instead, and with this object had moved north through Bulamwezi, directing Harrison to follow him, and was now some three days' march from the capital on the west bank of the Luajali River, which flows into the Seziwa. Macdonald, however, wished to fall on the mutineers before they could cross the Seziwa River, or get away to Unyoro by the canoes on Lake Choga, so directed Woodward to join Harrison with his column at Kitare on January 29. A reserve column was to be formed at Kampala under Barratt, who was shortly expected there, and who was to be still further reinforced by men from Lubwa's and Mumia's, as at the capital were some 500 disarmed Sudanese, and only local levies were stationed there for the protection of the fort. Hearing that the Sudanese were attempting to cross the Seziwa at Banda, Woodward, however, moved north to that place, and so the intended concentration at Kitare could not take place. On January 30, as it was now too late to prevent the mutineers reaching Lake Choga, Macdonald decided to cross the Luajali again and join Woodward's column.

The crossing was an evil undertaking, as, in spite of a rough track being cleared through it, for nearly three hours we were floundering midst tall papyrus 12 to 15 feet in height, the mud and water being of a most filthy description, and in many places well over the knee in depth. We marched some thirteen and a half miles next day, during which we heard that the mutineers had driven the Kakunguru—the best fighting chief of the Waganda—from his capital at Bale, and were marching on his fort on Lake Choga. Once they reached the lake it seemed probable they would obtain possession of numerous canoes, and so

Major T E. Scott, C.I.E., D.S.O.

could proceed direct by water to Mruli fort, at the junction of the Kafu and Nile Rivers, which was occupied by Sudanese troops. It was most imperative, therefore, to try and forestall the mutineers, so with this object Macdonald decided to despatch with all speed a flying column under Scott, accompanied by Fowler, Malcolm, and Moffat, Mr. Fletcher of the C.M.S., 100 Sepoys, and 60 Swahilis, to disarm the Mruli Sudanese, and, if successful, the remainder of the Unyoro garrisons, who were showing serious signs of rising. A junction with Woodward's force was effected at Banda on February 1, and at 3 p.m. that afternoon the flying column started on its mission, which was fraught with such vital import. The following day 100 Waganda guns were despatched to overtake Scott and to scout for him along the road. The rest of the force remained at Banda to cover Scott's retirement should he be unsuccessful, and it may be imagined that several anxious days were spent by us awaiting the results of his race to Murli. Meanwhile, a large Waganda force, under the command of the Katikiro Apollo, took up a position between the mutineers and Kampala, where Barratt's column was assembling.

Whilst at Banda Woodward's health entirely broke down, and it was found necessary to invalid him back to Kampala, and subsequently home to England. It was at this time that Macdonald made a reconnaissance with Harrison to Kabagambi, where a landing-place was reported to exist, and on working through the tall papyrus growth in canoes and reaching the open water of Lake Choga, he realized that the extent of the lake was most imperfectly shown on all previous maps, as it was a far more important sheet of water than had hitherto been imagined. The Katikiro also visited Macdonald at Banda to discuss various details with him, and returned on February 5 with a fresh supply of ammunition, powder, and caps to the Waganda army near Bale.

On February 7 information was received from Scott that he had reached Mruli safely and had experienced no difficulty with the Sudanese garrison, with whom was Mr. Shaw, a civilian, who, at a most critical period, had pluckily volunteered to proceed from Kampala to Mruli in order to give some confidence to these wavering Sudanese. Dugmore was still at Masindi, but had lately sent down a mutinous native officer commanding at Fajao under escort to the capital, as his presence in Unyoro had a disquieting effect on the remainder of the Sudanese. Scott had carried out his mission so far with great tact, and, instead of disarming the Sudanese at Mruli by force, had suggested that a change to the capital would be most beneficial for their health, and had consequently sent the majority of them off to Kampala by another road away from the Nile, leaving only thirty Sudanese and some Waganda at Mruli. He, at the time of writing, was starting to join Dugmore at Masindi, having left instructions with the Mruli garrison that, in the event of the mutineers arriving, they were to fall back on him at that place and abandon the fort.

Macdonald, feeling sure that the other Unyoro garrisons would be pretty certain to follow the lead of Mruli, and trusting that Scott's success would relieve the Protectorate of a most threatening and dangerous complication, decided now to take active measures against the mutineers, who were still reported to be camped on the other side of the Seziwa, in the Kakunguru's fort on Lake Choga. Barratt was now at Kampala, so instructions were sent to him to march with his Sepoys to Namuganga, with a view to joining the Major's force at that place. Banda was left by us, therefore, on February 8, and we proceeded to Namuganga, again crossing the Luajali swamp, which had latterly been much improved by the Waganda, who had bridged nearly the entire length most neatly with papyrus, thus enabling us to traverse it in little more than half an hour. At Namuganga,

on the 11th, we were joined by Barratt and some sixty Sepoys; twenty-five men of the East Africa Rifles, brought up to Kampala by Wake from Machakos; Captain Turner of the Indian Medical Service; and Corporal Brodie, R.E., with his fine section of forty Swahilis. The latter had been sent from Lubwa's to Mumia's when Harrison left for Kampala under Woodward's instructions, but had again been recalled to Kampala by Macdonald when the latter had seen the critical state of affairs on his arrival on January 26. Our force was very materially increased, therefore, now in strength, and capable of tackling the mutineers. On February 12 we marched some nine miles to Buyobe, and joined the Waganda army under the Katikiro and Kakunguru. Before reaching the spot where the Waganda were entrenched we had to cross a most formidable swamp of the Seziwa over two miles in width; but thanks to the Waganda having improvised a papyrus bridge over this obstacle, we got over it fairly comfortably. A long march of sixteen to seventeen miles next day brought us to Unga, on the left bank of the Nile. We traversed mostly thick bush country, and during the latter portion of the march passed through dense clouds of locusts, which absolutely obscured the sky, the flight having the appearance at a distance of a black thunder-cloud, or volumes of smoke which one could possibly imagine a huge factory chimney would emit. Next day we reached Bale, this country having never previously been visited by Europeans. According to existing maps we should have been swimming in the centre of Lake Ibrahim, but were actually footing it through thick bush on dry, solid, hard ground! We occupied a large fortified camp, which had only lately been abandoned by the mutineers, near a low rocky knoll, rising 100 or 150 feet above the level of the ground, on which they had, like we were now doing, established a picket.

We halted at Bale on the 15th in order to enable Molony,

with Harrison's other half-company of East Africa Rifles, to overtake us, as he had been ordered from Kirkpatrick's force in Buddu to the Major's operating against the mutineers. On the 16th we were joined by the Rev. Mr. Blackledge, who had in a most zealous way brought on a caravan which Lloyd, who had taken Woodward back to Kampala from Banda, was marching with to join us, when he unfortunately fell ill at the mission station occupied by Mr. Blackledge. The latter had come on to act as Kiganda interpreter in dealings between our allies and the Major. The advance on the enemy's position at Kakunguru's was now continued, and on the 18th we had a brisk fight with them at Kijembo, at which place they came out to engage us some five or six miles to the south of their entrenched position on Lake Choga. A strong picket of the mutineers had been driven back by the advance-guard, assisted by the Waganda army, and whilst camp was being pitched prior to making a further reconnaissance, our outposts, who reported the enemy to be approaching in force, were assailed from three sides by large numbers of the mutineers, who were greatly favoured by the thick nature of the country, and brought a very warm fire to bear on the camp. The attack was beaten back on all sides, and the enemy fled, leaving several of their dead and wounded behind. Our loss amounted to eighteen killed and wounded, whilst that of the enemy was probably half as much again, for twelve dead were accounted for. One of the rebel native officers, Bakhit Ali Effendi, was captured, but was so severely wounded that he died shortly after. When brought into camp this man recognised Mr. Foster, one of the Uganda officials with the force, whom he had previously known intimately, and in the most matter-of-fact way held out his hand and smiled most sweetly, as though he had nothing to be ashamed of or to regret in having taken up arms against the Government.

On the 19th a reconnaissance in force was made towards

Kakunguru's, and it was ascertained that the enemy had been so demoralized by the rough reception they met with on the previous day that they had hastily evacuated their fort and taken to the islands on Lake Choga. The same day information was received from Scott that emissaries had been sent by Bilal Emin, in command of the mutineers, up to Unyoro to try and raise the garrisons. However, Masindi had been saved, and the garrisons of the other posts had been called in to that place, whilst Dr. Ansorge and fifty-five men of the original Masindi garrison had reached Kampala safely, and there delivered up their arms. On February 20 information was received from Andrear, a chief who had constructed a fort at Kabagambi to dispute the passage of the Seziwa at that point with 200 Waganda guns, that the mutineers had driven his force away, and were effecting a landing at that place. The news was serious, as once across at that point the road to Unyoro was open to them, and Scott and his gallant little band might yet fare badly should the mutineers reach Masindi.

Macdonald therefore decided to at once cross the Seziwa again, and start in pursuit. With great forethought he had previously given instructions to the Waganda to try and make a passage across the Seziwa opposite Mitembi, for if we could traverse the swamp at that point instead of having to proceed south to Buyobe again, a long détour of three or four days would be saved, which might mean everything in the present emergency. We marched, therefore, for where it was hoped we might be able to cross opposite Mitembi on the 21st, and at once secured the crossing prepared, the bulk of the Waganda army proceeding through it that day. The mutineers had previously examined this place, and regarded its passage as quite impassable, and, in truth, they had very good reason for thinking so. For seven hours were we floundering through that dreadful swamp, in spite of the previous preparations made by the Waganda, and it seemed

more like forty than two miles across, so exhausted were we all by the time we reached dry hard ground beyond. It was past 5 p.m. before I reached the camp on the other bank with the rear-guard, and most of the time we had been in water up to our waists, tripping over papyrus roots, knotted grass below the surface, and in slime generally, and consequently were neither sweet to look at nor amiable to talk to by the time we struggled in. Poor little Mayes, with whom I had shared a tent for some time campaigning, and who was with me, seemed to be most of the time in some hole or other, as occasionally not much beyond his Terai hat was visible. His pet riding donkey had to be abandoned, looking very sad and weary when last we saw him, with just his head above water, and wondering what in the name of thunder we were playing at.

On reaching Mitembi, the mutineers were reported to have all crossed at Kabagambi, and to be marching on Unyoro, so Macdonald decided to despatch Harrison in pursuit with 200 regulars and 120 Swahilis, whilst he himself returned to Kampala with Ferguson, Mayes, and Mr. Blackledge, with their sections of Swahilis, half the expedition Sikhs, and a Maxim, as other operations against Mwanga now claimed his attention, and it was hoped that the mutineers could be successfully dealt with by Scott's and Harrison's Columns now that the Unyoro garrisons were saved. On February 23, therefore, Macdonald proceeded towards Kampala, whilst Harrison marched north towards Kabagambi. We marched some fifteen or sixteen miles, and then heard from the Katikiro that the mutineers were still at Kabagambi and only some seven miles distant. Next morning we marched on that place, but when some 500 or 600 yards from their fort the mutineers came out to meet us. Severe fighting took place, and they were gradually driven back into their fort, which, after some desperate work at close quarters, was carried by assault at the point of the

bayonet by the Sikhs, East Africa Rifles, and Barratt's Sepoys. After one of the stiffest fights of the campaign since the first attack on Lubwa's Hill of October 19, Harrison had gained a most brilliant victory over the mutineers. These latter fled in the utmost confusion, leaving all their belongings behind them, and bolted, some into the swamp, on the edge of which the fort was built, but the majority along the road leading to Mruli, which hereabouts is densely wooded with bush. The enemy must have lost about 100 in killed and wounded, as thirty-eight dead bodies were found round the work. Our losses, too, were heavy. Poor Molony received a mortal wound, from which he died next day. Osborn was severely wounded in the knee, but, I am happy to say, made a most complete recovery in course of time, whilst other losses, in addition, in killed and wounded amounted to forty-six. Poor Molony's death was much felt by us all, for never did a more gallant, unselfish, and modest soldier serve the Queen. I had known him for years, for we were cadets of the same batch together at Woolwich, and whilst I was with him shortly before he breathed his last, he looked up to me and said: 'I have an old "shop" photo of a group with you and me in it.' I had that same group also, so readily remembered to which one he was referring. Towards the end he felt no pain, and passed peacefully away, his last thought being for those who were dear to him and yet so far away from this distant little spot. We buried him on the morning of February 26, but later, in the following May, his remains, with those of his comrades who had fallen, Thruston, Norman Macdonald, Fielding, N. Wilson, and Scott (of Lubwa's), were brought into Kampala, and interred by Bishop Tucker in the churchyard of the Church Missionary Society Mission on Namirembe Hill.

Some 500 Sudanese women surrendered themselves to us after the fight, emerging subsequently from the swamp in

which they had taken refuge whilst the battle waged, and several men also came in and gave themselves up from the same place of retreat. Amongst the wounded was one of my old sergeants, who deserted at Njemps. I saw him lying on the ground after the fight with seven bullets through him, so went up and spoke to him. He smiled sweetly on me, and when I, more in sorrow than in anger, upbraided him for leaving me, he explained that their officers had ordered them to mutiny, so what could they do ? He was one of the few mutineers who was thoroughly expert in the use of the Maxim, which he had managed with conspicuous success in the fight of November 24. This man recovered from his wounds, but was executed with other mutineers later.

Turner, our only doctor, for the next two or three days was at work from morn until night on the wounded of both sides, amputating and operating in other ways almost without cessation. He was ably assisted by an Indian hospital assistant, Molah Bux, and also by Corporal Brodie, who stolidly sat there administering chloroform as though it had always been part of his training as a Royal Engineer. On the 26th Foster proceeded to Kampala with the wounded and the prisoners, when Harrison continued his march north towards Mruli, whilst our column was subsequently to be still further reinforced by Bagnall and Wake, who were being despatched from Kampala by Macdonald to join us in Unyoro.

On approaching Mruli, information was received that the post there, which was now only held by 100 Waganda guns, was being attacked by 120 mutineers, assisted by a large number of Kabarega's Wanyoro, so we hastened on. We found, however, that the attack had been rather exaggerated by the Waganda, and it was probably merely a reconnaissance, the mutineers returning to the Wakedi side of the Nile, to which they had crossed after their flight from Kabagambi. Up till midnight we were at work crossing the Kafu

with dug-out canoes; but the whole force was not over and camped near the Mruli post until next day. On March 4 we pushed on to Masindi, leaving a garrison of thirty-two Sepoys and twenty-eight Swahilis, under command of one of Barratt's native officers, at Mruli, to still further strengthen the Waganda guns, who, we felt, would make little or no stand should the mutineers really attempt to land at Mruli. Masindi was reached on the 5th, and here we once again joined hands with Scott, and were able to learn all that he had done since leaving Banda. Fowler and Shaw were at Hoima, whilst Malcolm, Dugmore, and Moffat had proceeded to Foweira, as Jass, Kabarega's son, was threatening between that place and Mruli. Altogether Scott had drafted some 330 Sudanese down to Kampala; the Fajao post had been withdrawn; there were only 40 of the Unyoro Sudanese at Foweira, under a very trustworthy native officer, and 20 at Hoima with Fowler, and some 25 others at Mahaji, on the western shore of Lake Albert. At Masindi itself were about 105 of the original Sudanese, whose arms, however, were being kept in the fort under an Indian guard, whilst the men themselves lived in their lines outside. They subsequently afforded much assistance in dealing with Ireyta, a chieftain of Unyoro, who from time to time caused trouble in the neighbourhood of Masindi. The critical situation with respect to the mutineers was now, therefore, at an end, for they had been driven out of the country and taken refuge in the Wakedi country to the east of the Nile, and Unyoro itself was occupied by the Government forces. It would still be necessary, however, to watch the mutineers, and in time to cross the Nile and disperse them, as their position on the borders of Uganda was a standing menace to the subsequent peace of the country.

Let us now turn to the events being enacted in the west of Uganda, where Mwanga was still at large, and operations

against whom were being vigorously carried out under the directions of Macdonald at Kampala. After his defeat on January 15, Mwanga had retired into Ankole, but had again collected a large force, which became most threatening. Sitwell's Sudanese had refused to have any dealings with the mutineers, and emissaries sent to them for the purpose of creating disaffection had been handed over by them to Sitwell himself, and summarily dealt with. Their loyalty, therefore, could entirely be relied upon, so Sitwell, who had been guarding Bwekula, joined Kirkpatrick's Buddu force, and by most energetic operations through a difficult country, intersected by numerous and formidable swamps, came up with Mwanga's army on March 2, and defeated it near the Katonga River. Mwanga had previously detached a force of some 800 Waganda Mohammedans to try and effect a junction with the Sudanese mutineers at Kisiliza, south of Mruli, where the Nile narrows considerably, and this force was threatening North-West Singo. When Major Price, therefore, arrived at Kampala, on March 6, with a Maxim and 75 men of the 27th Bombay Infantry, it was decided to send a column under his command, strengthened still further by 100 Swahilis and 200 Waganda guns, to protect Singo and relieve the Roman Catholic Mission at Bukumi. On March 14 he reached Bukumi, and was joined there by Sitwell with 60 Sudanese, Kirkpatrick and McLoughlin being left in Buddu to protect that district from further raids by the Waganda Mohammedans. On March 10 Tracy and Bright arrived at Kampala from Save, where the bulk of the expedition stores had been left under guard, with 100 armed Swahilis, and whilst the former was despatched to Matiana, the latter proceeded to join Captain Ashburnham in Bulamwezi.

The 800 Waganda Mohammedans had divided into two parties, and while half remained guarding their women and baggage, the other half marched east to join the mutineers,

but were prevented from doing so by the forces at Mruli and Bulamwezi. Major Price inflicted three defeats in quick succession on the former half, and then marched down on Ankole, where he heard Mwanga was again assembling, and whose forces he again dispersed. The Waganda Mohammedans, who had been frustrated in their attempt to join the mutineers, retired, and crossed to the north of the Kafu River, where Fowler, who had been reinforced by Corporal Brodie from Masindi, fell on them in the vicinity of Hoima, and defeated them on two occasions with heavy loss. At the same time Ireyta in Unyoro was causing considerable trouble, but was dispersed by Barratt and Bagnall. Towards the latter end of March, Wake and I had been ordered from Masindi to Mruli to strengthen that place, the importance of which was daily increasing, seeing the efforts being made by the Waganda Mohammedans to join the mutineers; and later Barratt, with the majority of his Sepoys, also arrived. Both banks of the Kafu were now occupied at the ferry, so that, in case the mutineers attempted to cross back into Uganda at Kisiliza, a force would be at once ready to proceed to intercept and fall on it. Mruli is a most poisonous spot; little above the level of the papyrus growth and rank vegetation that exists at the junction of the Kafu and Nile Rivers here, it is extremely unhealthy, and in a short time the Sepoys became saturated with fever, frequently the great majority being down with it at one and the same time.

On April 13 I heard from Macdonald that, as reinforcements of the Baluchis were now beginning to arrive, and the critical elements of the situation were over, he hoped shortly to be able to relieve me and all the expedition Swahilis and Sikhs garrisoning Unyoro, with a view to concentrating all the expedition at Kampala, prior to making a fresh start on our mission. On April 15 Captain Southey, of the 27th Bombay Infantry, arrived with 150 of his Sepoys,

and left on the 17th for Masindi, followed a day later by Ashburnham and his Somalis and Swahilis. Orders were given for all the expedition porters to concentrate at Mruli, and these accompanied Moffat and Scott to that place on April 21, these two officers being both ill, the former just convalescent from a bad attack of hæmaturic fever. About fifty Sepoys of the Mombasa contingent were also being invalided down to Kampala, so we were rather a sickly crowd that left Mruli on April 23, bound for the gay metropolis.

On May 2 we were back at Kampala, and then heard that Martyr (who had reached Mruli the day after we left, by another route) had assembled Harrison, Barratt, Southey, Turner, and several other officers at that place, and, with a force of 250 regulars, had crossed the Nile on April 26 and attacked the mutineers' stronghold. A stiff engagement ensued, but, in spite of a check, the Sudanese encampment was captured, with a loss to the Government troops of thirty-seven killed and wounded. The Sudanese had apparently been informed of the attack being probable, as they had removed all their belongings, so nothing fell into our hands. A post on the right bank of the Nile opposite Mruli was, however, established and occupied for some time.

On the same day Malcolm and Wake gained a most brilliant little success over some fifty mutineers, supported by a large number of Wanyoro, near Foweira. Accompanied by seventy men, half of whom were Swahilis, Malcolm drove them from a strong position, captured their village and baggage, and pursued them for several miles, inflicting a loss of from twenty to thirty on the enemy, his own being three killed and six wounded. After his fight of April 26 Martyr returned to Kampala, where, on May 3, with Mr. Berkeley's approval, he was handed over command of the operations by Macdonald, who wished to reorganize

Captain Neill Malcolm, D.S.O.

his own expedition, as the officers and men could be spared to undertake the exploratory work for which they were originally intended now that the crisis had been successfully combated. Beyond this point I do not propose to follow the subsequent operations against the mutineers, in which the expedition had no share; but I may mention that before Uganda again resumed its former security, and the troops from India were able to return to their homes, much work remained to be done.

Between October 19, 1897, and May 3, 1898, no less than seven Europeans had been killed and five wounded in the operations against the mutineers, whilst the total losses inflicted by the enemy on the Government forces amounted to 835 killed and wounded, including those suffered by our Waganda and Wasoga allies. These numbers speak for themselves, and afford eloquent testimony to the desperate nature of the stand made by the mutineers at Lubwa's and elsewhere.

Before bringing this chapter to a conclusion, I feel that it is only due to Major Macdonald to state that we, who were employed in these operations and who received so generous a meed of praise from our Chief, fully recognised throughout that the success of the operations against the combined forces of the mutineers, Mwanga, and Kabarega's Wanyoro, was entirely due to his own fertility of resource, extraordinary knowledge of the country, his great personal influence with our allies, and the unbounded confidence of his men and officers alike which he so completely possessed. It is not for me to speak of his own personal gallantry; but I may perhaps state that a civilian, who was present at the first great fight at Lubwa's Hill, has expressed to me the great admiration he held from that day forth for the Major, who was always to be seen where the bullets fell thickest, quietly and calmly strolling about, encouraging his men, and smoking his pipe! The mark of nearly every Sudanese

rifleman, he passed unscathed through that day, though his own immediate attendants were struck down at his side; and, later, had the unqualified satisfaction of seeing his operations so successfully carried out that the mutineers had been driven out of the country, whilst Mwanga's forces were so harassed and broken up, that the safety of Uganda was once more assured. He then felt that his work was done, and he could once more turn his thoughts towards the execution of that exploratory work for which the expedition had been originally despatched from England.

As an appendix at the end of the book, in order to give some idea of the difficulties Major Macdonald had to contend with, and the ready assistance he received from all classes, I have ventured to add his general remarks on the operations, as submitted before Parliament, which I feel sure will be read with interest.

CHAPTER VIII

KAMPALA TO MOUNT ELGON (MAIN BODY)

As has been previously stated, Major Macdonald handed over the command of the military operations to Major Martyr on May 3, 1898, in order the better to undertake the reorganization of his own expedition. Before the arrival of Mr. Berkeley at Kampala on April 11, certain arrangements had already been entered into between Macdonald and George Wilson regarding the escort to be provided, which it was decided should consist of 130 selected Sudanese (from those disarmed men who were settled at Kampala and Port Alice) and 70 Indian troops. Volunteers from amongst the Sudanese were therefore called for at the beginning of April, and within a few days the lists were closed, as more than the required number of men had come forward, in spite of being informed that their services might be required for perhaps two years, and they must be prepared to undergo considerable hardships, with the possibility of fighting as well. The men were medically inspected, and 130 selected and formed into a special service company. When Mr. Berkeley arrived, Martyr demurred at so many newly-armed Sudanese being taken, and it was then arranged that 130 Indian Sepoys and 70 Sudanese should accompany the expedition, together with two officers of the 27th Bombay Infantry, and probably Captain Tickell and Lieutenant Pereira, of the Uganda Rifles, in addition. Directions were sent out accordingly to assemble the 75 Afridis who had accompanied Major Price from the coast, and such Sikhs

of the 27th Bombay Infantry as had arrived in Uganda, for Macdonald was particularly desirous of taking the Afridis, who knew him by name and reputation from his former work in the Khyber.

Arrangements were at the same time made to concentrate the expedition detachments of Sikhs and Swahilis, who were still doing military duty in Unyoro, Buddu, Butunzi, and Bulamwezi. On April 27 Bright reached Kampala with his section of Swahilis, followed the next day by Tracy and his men, whilst on May 2 I arrived with the Sikhs and Swahilis from Unyoro. Kirkpatrick and McLoughlin did not arrive from Buddu until May 26. I was very pleased to meet my old friend Mr. Berkeley again, from whom we of the original Railway Survey had enjoyed so much hospitality at Mombasa in 1891 and 1892; and here, again, at Kampala, during our stay of close on a month, we spent several very pleasant musical evenings under the hospitable roof of the Commissioner before we left Uganda. We all sang—or tried to—to the accompaniment of banjos, and as the audiences were not over-critical, we managed to get a great amount of amusement and hearty choruses out of the concerts.

Soon after my return to Kampala, Tracy and Bright started off for Save to make preliminary arrangements there for the expedition, and were accompanied by about 100 Swahilis, 100 local porters, and 25 of the special Sudanese, with their 10 women. Tracy received instructions to collect at Save 300 loads of food, and form an advanced depot at Manimani or Bukora, which places he had previously visited after we had left Save in November. He was also to collect and equip with saddles 218 donkeys and 36 camels, or, failing camels, 300 donkeys; whilst, on arrival at Mumia's, clothing and tents were to be issued to his Sudanese. To purchase all these animals, Tracy was to have a number of cattle placed at his disposal, and 500 loads of food were to be carried

for him to Save from Mumia's, where it was hoped a hospital assistant and European subordinate would also be attached to his column.

Some 60 donkeys had previously been secured by the expedition, which Tracy was to take on from Mumia's, whilst the Uganda Administration supplied us with 8 loads of red beads, 20 loads of cowrie shells, and some loads of cloth for bartering purposes. On his arrival at Lubwa's, on May 8, Tracy was joined by 10 more expedition Swahilis, and received from Grant 3 loads of beads, 12 cows, and 100 goats and sheep, and continued his march to Mumia's on the 10th.

The following day Martyr again visited Kampala from Port Alice, where he was reorganizing the Uganda Rifles, and a further conference was held regarding the escort for the expedition. It was then decided that half a company of Punjabi Mohammedans was to be substituted for the half-company of Afridis previously arranged, whilst Captain Fowler, D.S.O., and Lieutenant Hannington, of the 27th Bombay Infantry, were to accompany the expedition, in addition to the two officers of the Uganda Rifles before mentioned. Major Price, who was then at Kampala, therefore selected a half-company of Afridis at that place, and sent orders to detain a half-company of Punjabi Mohammedans at Mumia's on their way up from the coast. As all the four officers, with the exception of Captain Fowler, were at Kampala, orders were sent to him.

A certain amount of stores were also requisitioned from the Protectorate, as our Swahilis were in a ragged condition, their clothing having been worn out during the campaign. In other ways, too, they had been so severely tried that, unless they were liberally supplied with tents, clothing, etc., there was a possibility of their refusing to extend their period of engagement beyond the eighteen months for which they had been originally enlisted. Macdonald's efforts to obtain

cloth from Messrs. Smith Mackenzie and Co. failed, as all had been requisitioned by the Protectorate for the Sudanese troops now being reorganized.

On May 20 alarming news from Unyoro arrived, as, owing to the depletion of the garrison there, Harrison and the bulk of the East Africa Rifles being withdrawn from that country—they had already left Kampala for Machako's—an opportunity had arisen for Mwanga's and Kabarega's rebels to renew their activity. The Indian escort detailed for the expedition was ordered by Martyr to Unyoro, and Macdonald informed that, owing to the fresh outbreak, it would be impossible for him to obtain the men originally promised. This necessitated a complete alteration of Macdonald's plans, as it was obvious that without an escort, and having only his small stock of stores to rely on, the programme contemplated early in May could not be carried out.

Fresh instructions, consequently, were sent to Tracy, directing him to form a food depot at Ngaboto, as it was feared the expedition would now have to confine its operations to the neighbourhood of Lake Rudolf alone. Meanwhile, at Mumia's Tracy had experienced trouble with his Swahilis, some of whom did not wish to proceed to Save, as they desired to return to Mombasa. By great tact he overcame the difficulty, and, with a liberal issue of new clothes and tents, succeeded in pacifying and persuading the men to continue with the work before them. The leader of the disaffection was subsequently placed under arrest and sent to Kampala, where he was discharged from the expedition and imprisoned.

All the Swahilis at Kampala were, on receipt of the news from Mumia's, fallen in by Macdonald, who interviewed them and ascertained, to his great relief, that they were perfectly willing to follow their officers anywhere, and to extend their agreement several months beyond the date they had signed

on for. Tracy's accounts from Mumia's were not of a very cheering description. The sixty donkeys, which had been counted on to replace losses amongst our original transport animals, had been requisitioned by the Protectorate, and our own camels and donkeys had suffered severely during the rainy season. The 500 loads of food could not be provided nor the carriers promised, whilst the 100 local porters, who had proceeded to Mumia's with Tracy, could not be replaced there. The expedition loads, stored at Mumia's previously, had been stocked in the open, as the store-houses in which they had first been placed were required for other purposes. They had been left exposed, therefore, to the rains, and were in no wise improved, whilst a certain amount of the trade goods had been utilized for station needs. Various causes delayed Tracy's departure from Mumia's until May 24, on which day he started for Save with 180 Swahilis, 30 Masai, 25 Sudanese, 10 women, 70 cows and heifers, with 26 calves, 138 bullocks, 14 camels, and 83 goats and sheep. He was compelled, however, to leave a large number of expedition loads behind, for want of transport ; and for the same reason was able to carry very little food, which he had to purchase locally as he proceeded slowly through Ketosh.

The question of the escort was meanwhile again reopened at Kampala, by Martyr wishing to despatch to Unyoro the remaining fifty Sudanese of the special service company, under Lieutenant Pereira, whose disposition was still pending. Mr. Berkeley, on Macdonald's earnest representations, agreed, however, that they and Periera should accompany the expedition, provided that Macdonald gave him in writing an outline of his intended movements, to justify his acting in some way counter to the opinion of his military adviser. A modified indent for stores was also sanctioned. Everything at length having been settled regarding the reduced escort (which now only consisted of the 50 Sudanese at Kampala and the 25 with Tracy, whilst no Indian Sepoys

at all could be spared by the Administration), arrangements were made for the remainder of the Macdonald expedition to start from the capital. On June 3, 1898, Macdonald and Pereira left Kampala with about 100 men, their intention being to proceed by canoes and the steam launch to Port Victoria in Kavirondo, and thence march to Mumia's. On June 5 Ferguson and I started with about 260 men for Mumia's, viâ Lubwa's and Usoga; whilst the following day Kirkpatrick and McLoughlin marched north with 70 men to explore Lake Choga, and rejoin the main body at Save.

I have not previously described the marches between Kampala and Lugumbwa's, which in parts pass through most picturesque country, so I will give them as Ferguson and I made them on our return to Mumia's. On leaving Kampala, we were accompanied by Mahomed Ratib Effendi and 27 Sudanese, with their women, about 160 Swahilis, and Wasoga porters in addition. The usual late start was made on the first day, and with a farewell cheer from 'Tommy' Scott and his men, drawn up outside the fort at Kampala, we marched to a camp some five miles from the capital. A hilly tract of country was traversed next day before we reached the Banda camping-ground after a long march. The swampy streams crossed were all neatly bridged, and a fine broad track is cleared, as a road, by the Waganda, whilst some of the glens at the bottoms of the valleys are beautifully wooded, and numbers of lovely butterflies are seen in these shaded retreats. It is the universal custom in Uganda—or was at the time I am speaking of—for the chief of the village near which one camped to send in large supplies of bananas, and so forth, for any European caravan that had arrived, so difficulties regarding commissariat do not entail much trouble on the traveller in a region where the inhabitants are so hospitable. Our next camp was at Kiwaligoma, where there is a Church Missionary Society mission station, and here we received large supplies of

bananas from an old Mganda deacon—a splendid specimen of humanity, whose name I regret I have forgotten. There was a European missionary at the station also, but we did not see him. On June 8 we reached Mondo's, where we received a note from Macdonald, who had only reached Lugumbwa's the previous night from Port Alice, as his steam launch had broken down; but Pereira had continued to Port Victoria with the canoes. Most of the country between Kiwaligoma and Mondo's consists of rolling, undulating country, covered with tall elephant grass, through which a road has been cleared. As Mondo's is approached, however, large banana plantations are met with. From Mondo's to the ferry crossing at Lugumbwa's the track runs along an elevated plateau, some 100 feet above the level of the lake, down to which at the ferry is a long, steep, rocky descent along the side of the hill. During the march from the high ground beautiful views of the lake are obtained between the trees.

Three or four trips backwards and forwards across the six miles of water in canoes conveyed the whole caravan to Lubwa's from the Uganda side, and we found ourselves once more, after an absence of nearly five months, going over the old ground, which had been so desperately held by the Sudanese mutineers. Grant was now in charge of the Government post, and as he had been for some eight or nine years in the country, and knew the Sudanese intimately, we were much interested in listening to his numerous and varied experiences. In spite of the personal affection they had for him, he experienced a most anxious time when his men in Buddu refused to march out against Mwanga, and he regarded Macdonald's arrival as most timely, for he felt he could no longer keep the companies in hand. We halted at Lubwa's on June 10, and here met Lieutenant Grant, of the 27th Bombay Infantry, who arrived that day with forty men of the regiment, on his way to Kampala from the coast.

Before leaving for Mumia's we were provided by Grant (the Uganda official) with 100 Wasoga porters, to take the place of those who had accompanied us from Kampala. On arrival at Wakoli's old capital we took over one bull, twelve cows, and fifteen heifers and calves for the expedition, which Grant had arranged for. That same night the majority of the Wasoga porters bolted, so in the morning we had great difficulty in transporting all our loads. I sent a letter back to inform Grant of the fact, and I have little doubt he dropped on the deserters when he got hold of them. On the 17th, after an execrable march through much black slime, caused by the recent heavy rains, we crossed the Usoga border, and found ourselves again amongst the great unclad of Kavirondo. Next day we met the younger Price, with fifty men, proceeding to Kampala, and, crossing the Sio River, camped and halted there for the men to purchase their own food with beads, which were issued to the whole caravan.

In the evening Ferguson and I were strolling about the camp shortly before dark, when, amongst a knot of our few remaining Wasoga porters, I saw a man with a plucked fowl in his hand. Thinking that I heard a deep groan emitted from the creature, we went up to see if it really was alive. It was! The brute of a man had literally plucked the wretched chanticleer of every single feather it possessed without first killing it, and there was the poor thing, stark naked, so to speak, and more dead than alive after the shocking experience it had undergone. I ordered the man to cut its head off at once, at which he rather demurred; I fancy he contemplated next cooking it alive! I wonder if that recipe improves the flavour of roast fowl.

On the 19th we reached the Nzoia River again, after a most unpleasant march, floundering through black, evil-smelling swamps, which had been formed by the recent heavy rains to which we had been subjected. Two hours were spent in

ferrying the caravan across the following morning, after which we marched into Mumia's, and found that the Major and Pereira had only arrived two days before. The former had experienced considerable ill-fortune in his lake journey, what with the steam launch breaking down, canoe-men bolting, and a couple of canoes being wrecked.

We halted several days at Mumia's, during which time all the men were fitted out with new clothing, tents, etc., and here met Mrs. Hobley, the wife of the sub-commissioner of the Kavirondo district, for the first time. I was very seedy during the period we remained halted here, and suffered much from constant fits of vomiting, being unable to keep anything down—a complaint I have suffered from subsequently on each expedition I have been, at one time or another, and to which, on at least two occasions, I have nearly succumbed from exhaustion. Hobley supplied us with 70 loads of food and 220 Wa-Kavirondo porters, in lieu of the 500 loads of food and 600 local porters which he had been unable to supply to Tracy. We were also to have taken over 50 Protectorate donkeys in place of the 60 which had been requisitioned, but were only able to obtain one. However, we had to do the best we could with the transport and small quantity of food at our disposal; so, on June 22, Pereira made a start for Mangichi's, on the southern slopes of Mount Elgon, with half a company and the Kavirondo porters, carrying 228 loads. On the 26th the main body crossed the Nzoia, and marched next day to Majanja's. Owing to the difficulty regarding food, Macdonald decided to proceed to Save by the western slopes of Mount Elgon, as food was reported abundant by this route, whereas we knew by the eastern route there was a ten days' journey through foodless country before we reached Save.

From Majanja's, therefore, our present track diverged from the route followed by us in the previous November, and we struck off north-west, instead of nearly due north, to the

foot of Elgon, as before. Passing through well cultivated and populated districts, we reached wooded country next day, which became more hilly as we approached the Elgon spurs. I now suffered from a relapse of vomiting, and on June 30 had to be carried in a hammock to Mangichi's (for the first time in my experience), as I was too weak to walk. We joined Pereira and his party, who were camped here, awaiting the arrival of the main body, and halted on July 1. Mangichi's is a fine large village, surrounded by many others in the immediate neighbourhood, all of which seem to be densely populated. There was a good deal more of the Masai in the appearance of the large numbers of natives we saw hereabouts than in any of the Wa-Ketosh we had previously seen. The men work their hair in the long locks fore and aft, like the Masai, and not a few of them possessed the genuine Masai spear, which they said they obtained in exchange for a cow. We found beads anything but popular for trade purposes, as the men all wanted cloth or cowrie shells. The women are decently clothed in hides, and a large number of the men also wear a skin of some sort. On July 2, accompanied by Mangichi and some forty of his young bloods as guides, we resumed our journey, and after traversing rolling grass-land, camped at the base of a magnificent rocky bluff of Elgon, which is a conspicuous landmark even from Mumia's in clear weather. Two fine streams and some half-dozen lesser ones were crossed in the march of nine and a half miles. The villages we passed were regular settlements, walled in as elsewhere in Ketosh; but on the hill slopes, which were profusely cultivated with bananas up to the very foot of the rocky bluff, the huts were merely dotted about in clusters of threes and fours. A beautiful waterfall dashed down the rocky escarpment about half a mile east of the terminal bluff, whilst the summit was clad in a dense forest growth of seemingly large trees. The natives, known as the Wa-Kumoni, fled at our approach, and took

refuge in the hills, deserting their villages and cultivation, and they would appear to be a very nervous, suspicious tribe. The huts are very neat and circular in shape, the walls consisting of uprights of split wood 3 to 4 feet high, with the interstices filled in with mud. The dome-shaped roof is constructed of bent twigs, covered with a thick thatching of banana leaves, an eaves being provided all round the building, whilst the summit of the roof is generally crowned with some vertical adornment, to improve the simple design of their homes.

Traversing an extraordinarily broken bit of country next day (intersected by numerous small valleys, and crossing swampy streams, in addition to two largish ones), we camped on the summit of a high narrow-backed ridge, to reach which we had a very stiff climb. The population must have been dense, as great numbers of huts and villages were seen in every direction; but, as on the previous day, the natives had all fled on our approach. The country was most profusely cultivated, especially with bananas; but wimbi, Indian corn, and mtama were also grown. The scenery was grand in the extreme, and I have seen few more striking views than we did that day from our elevated position. Looking north across the deep valley lying at our feet, one saw range upon range of hill slopes, covered with clusters of huts and bananas in great quantities. The low outlying spurs of Elgon hid the plains to the south of us, but to the south-west they were just discernible through a gap in the hills. Before us to the north-west lay a huge amphitheatre of rugged rock escarpment, not unlike the half of a broken crater, with a foreground of lower irregular hills. The eastern limit terminated in the conspicuous bluff I have previously mentioned, and the western in an almost equally imposing one. The natives hereabouts possessed many cattle and goats. As Mangichi and his young men proved such accomplished looters on the march, entering all the

deserted villages, and collaring fowls, eggs, and everything they could lay their hands upon, Macdonald decided to dispense with their services, and sent them back to their homes from this place—Lukara.

On July 4 we had to turn off nearly due west, and camped at the foot of the second bluff referred to above, on the bank of a splendid stream. The country still remained marvellously fertile, very hilly, and watered by numerous small rivulets. The natives still avoided us, and many deserted hamlets were passed; but later, after we had camped, they gradually gained confidence, when they saw their homes had not in any way been interfered with, and even went so far as to indulge in a little trade. Having rounded the great bluff, we continued north again next day, more or less along the foot of a magnificent rocky escarpment, the lower slopes of which were profusely cultivated. Keeping outside the hill spurs for the first four and a half miles, we traversed fairly flat country covered with bananas and much resembling bits of Usoga. We halted on the far side of a stream flowing through a deep cut near a few villages, the inhabitants of which at first were extremely shy, but, gradually gaining confidence, came amongst us with ripe bananas, Indian corn, and so on, for sale. When we started off again, many of the porters had their loads carried by these seemingly peaceful and most industrious natives, in return for presents of beads. During the next four and a half miles the country became a good deal more undulating and hilly, many villages and much cultivation existing throughout, whilst numerous small streams were forded, issuing from the escarpment, down the face of which three grand waterfalls were dashing. The natives everywhere came out to the edge of the track to greet the caravan as it passed, but became more impudent subsequently, and carried off some six goats from our flocks. A gentleman of the name of Nambafu, who was supposed to be the chief, was held as hostage until these were returned.

The porters complained that when bartering the natives did not hesitate to grab cowries from their hands and bolt. The more important of these Wa-Ngoko wore bark-cloth, similar to that seen in Usoga, whence it was probably obtained, whilst the majority wore the usual skin across the back or chest, and carried a small-bladed spear with long handle, and oblong hide shields, as well as bows and arrows. The women were practically naked, except for a small string of cowries round the waist, with a goat-skin flap in front.

Whilst we were lunching, after camp had been pitched, one of our porters came in stark naked, except for the historical fig-leaf, which he had constructed out of a banana-leaf just before entering camp, and bearing marks of violence about his body. He reported he had been set upon and badly beaten by the natives, several of whom had attacked him simultaneously and removed his garments. Later two more porters, who had gone to fetch water, returned to camp minus their rifles, which they said had been stolen by the natives, who had set upon them also. Nambafu and a club-footed gentleman, who were hostages with us, appeared to look upon the whole thing as a huge joke, and smiled and laughed in an idiotic way when ordered to call on their men to return the goats and other stolen property. At length the theft of rifles and repeated acts of assault on the porters became intolerable, so Macdonald decided to give these aggressive natives a severe lesson for their temerity. Pereira was despatched with some twenty Sudanese, and Ferguson with fifty armed Swahilis, to burn down all the huts on the long flat spur to the south of the one on which we were camped. As soon as the natives saw the party issue out of camp, they commenced to flee in all directions. Presently volumes of smoke and huge flames in the vicinity of the huts showed us work had been started, and then the party became obscured by the smoke. About a mile and a half away, however, we could see a fine herd of cattle being driven

away at a great pace, and, hearing occasional firing, rightly conjectured that Ferguson and Pereira were in pursuit. They returned at 5.30 p.m. with forty-six head of cattle, all cows except two, and some fifty-six goats and sheep, and having burnt down thirty to forty huts. We were camped on a ridge overlooking a fine broad stream flowing through a regular rocky gorge, which formed the boundary between the Ngoko and Konde tribes, and, when we were about to march next morning, large numbers of Wa-Ngoko assembled on the upper slopes of the spur our camp had been on. When all but the rear-guard had forded the stream below, a number of the more daring ones descended on Pereira, and fired a shower of arrows at him, to which he promptly replied with a volley, which was taken up by Macdonald covering the crossing of the stream from the opposite bank. The natives were beaten back, and fled, leaving several of their number dead and wounded behind, uttering the most extraordinary cry we had ever heard, and which it is quite impossible for me to describe. It was taken up by the whole multitude on the hill slopes, and in reply to each shot this weird, uncanny cry was raised, which we supposed was an exaggerated imitation of what the sound of a bullet appeared to be like to them. As we were the first white men who had visited them, they seemingly had never before seen, heard, or knew what the effect of firearms was. Seeing us without spears and shields, I cannot help thinking they were under the impression that our rifles were merely clubs, which they regarded as no match for their weapons, and hence their impudent behaviour of the previous day. During the march on July 6 we had some tremendous hill-climbing to indulge in, as we ascended the long spurs that branch out from the base of this high, rocky escarpment. The scenery was grand as we approached almost to the very foot of the waterfalls, and from our lofty position above the plains we obtained a magnificent view

for miles away to the west and north-west, across the open expanse lying far down below us. In parts the track was excessively steep, and almost continuously through banana plantations, where the clayey soil was so slippery that progress was wretchedly slow, and we had only covered some five and a half miles by mid-day. One deep gorge we had to negotiate occupied the caravan two hours in crossing, the operations being watched with great interest by crowds of natives congregated on commanding positions. Beetling crags towered above us, whilst numerous huts were perched high above the track on seemingly inaccessible precipices. The population was dense, but the natives did not in any way attempt to give trouble, which was fortunate, for the country was extraordinarily difficult.

That night some half-dozen Wa-Ngoko brought in a couple of goats as a peace-offering, and in the morning Macdonald held a ' shauri ' with them before we continued the march. A cow and a calf were brought in as ransom for the club-footed chief, but Nambafu was held as hostage until the rifles were returned, the other man being released. Climbing, always climbing, we traversed a perfect network of streams and spurs until we reached the Namatara River, some twenty to thirty yards in width, and flowing swiftly over a rocky bed at the bottom of a deep ravine. The country was covered with tall, rank vegetation and bananas, and it was with considerable difficulty that we eventually found a place where it was possible to camp in the Muhasa district. At last we reached a spur overlooking a deep bay, which the plain forms by running into the hills, separating those spurs we were on from the Mbai plateau. Several villages were situated on the summit, and as we descended towards the plain we passed others, outside all of which the natives were standing with their spears and bows and arrows in their hands.

When Ferguson and I had pitched the camp, we sent a few

men out to cut grass and wood to run up a mess-hut, and they presently returned in a great state of excitement, with one of their number very badly wounded in the back, just above the pelvis, by a spear which had been hurled at him. The poor little man's (he was always a most excellent porter) trousers were simply saturated with blood ; but as the Major with the rear-guard had not yet got into camp, I felt I could take no further steps in the matter until he arrived, beyond placing pickets over the water-supply and other points, and forbidding men to go out singly and unarmed from camp. As soon as he arrived (3 p.m.) I reported the circumstance, and whilst we were having a slight repast, some of our men returned with arrows, which had been fired at the water-picket. Ferguson was sent out then with ten Sikhs and twenty Sudanese to disperse the natives, who were most insulting and aggressive in their demeanour. They refused to withdraw when Ferguson called upon them to do so, and shouted out that they intended to attack and kill any man they came upon. They were again warned, but, becoming more daring, Ferguson received orders to disperse them with a few volleys. Six men were killed, and the remainder fled in all directions, leaving several wounded behind. These same natives had, not long before, sold food to a party of thirty Swahilis from Save during the day, and attacked and speared the whole lot the same night. Shortly after marching next day a party of natives in the bush to one side of the track called out that they had brought back the stolen rifles, and also a cow and a bullock for the ransom of Nambafu, who was forthwith released from the chain-gang and returned to his home with the Wa-Ngoko.

We experienced great difficulty in traversing the plain to reach the slopes on the opposite side of the bay previously referred to, owing to the dense, tall growth of rank, coarse grass. A gradual descent of about two miles brought us to the edge of the slopes, and we at once plunged into

Major W. C. Barratt, D.S.O.

grass 6 to 8 feet in height. Struggling for two miles through this, the ground being pitted with deep indentations caused by elephants' feet in swampy patches, we at length reached a swift-flowing stream out on the plains. The current was so strong that the men fording could barely keep their feet, even with the assistance of poles held across to act as a hand-rail, and several men, with their loads, had pretty severe duckings. It was mid-day before the caravan was over and ready to continue to push straight across to the foot of the opposite hills. The distance was only three miles, but progress was most laboured, especially for those in front, who had to trample down the grass, which was now 10 to 12 feet in height and very dense, in order to allow the passage of the caravan through it. At 2.30 p.m. we reached the slopes of the hills near banana plantations, and whilst camp was being pitched were subjected to a terrific downpour of rain, which literally fell in sheets, and then changed to hail, the stones being the size of a dove's egg. Every fire was put out and the camp deluged, so it was 7 p.m. before we got anything to eat, and as our previous meal had been at 5.30 a.m., we did it justice.

The men were so fatigued after all our recent clambering that we halted on July 9, and were visited by a few natives, the hillsides being profusely cultivated with bananas. We had hoped the next day to reach our food depot at Mbai, but, owing to the difficult nature of the track—one stream alone delaying us for three hours—along the hillsides, and to the existence of other streams formed by magnificent waterfalls, and the dense nature of the growth in the valleys, consisting of long, coarse grass, thick bush, and bamboo, our progress was very slow, and we were compelled to camp some three and a half miles short of Mbai, where we arrived the following day—July 11, 1898. Many natives thronged out to meet us as we passed through endless banana groves, and the difference between them and those

we had lately been amongst was most striking. Instead of the poverty-stricken looking crowd we had become accustomed to, these men were smartly got up, their bodies nicely oiled and dyed, their hair neatly worked, and altogether bearing a sleek, well-groomed appearance. Cowrie shells were conspicuous everywhere, thanks to the quantities expended by Tracy in the purchase of banana flour. So popular were these little shells that one cowrie purchased about 1½ pounds of flour, or, in other words, one load of cowries, numbering about 12,000, purchased close on 300 loads of flour. (NOTE.—When I speak of a load, its weight must be understood to average from 50 to 60 pounds.) On arrival at our depot at Mbai we found only a few Swahilis and three Masai there, under charge of a headman, who reported that he already had some 400 loads of flour ready for us.

Tracy and Bright had left for Ngaboto on June 24, carrying some 332 loads of flour with them, the bulk of which they hoped to keep stocked against my arrival there. Moody, the subordinate who had been sent to help them from Mumia's, was left in charge of the lower Save post—at the foot of the hill, it will be remembered. He was to return shortly with the Wa-Kavirondo porters we had brought with us from Mumia's by the route to the east of Mount Elgon.

Tracy and Bright had reached Save on June 10, at which time the upper and lower posts were still occupied by men left behind when they had proceeded to Uganda to take part in the operations. The Mbai post had been withdrawn, so Bright was sent to reopen the market at Mbai, and build the necessary store-houses. He was followed by Tracy on the 14th, and at the request of the Mbai people, who were being annoyed by the Wa-Ucia, a punitive expedition was organized against that tribe, who were reduced to order after some fighting. Leaving a garrison to continue the purchase

of food at Mbai, Tracy and Bright had returned to the lower Save post by a new road at the foot of the mountain, which, however, was found too swampy for general use with transport animals. On arrival there, they found Moody had joined from Mumia's. On June 21 Tracy visited the upper Save post, and entered into an arrangement with Sheriff, one of the Swahili traders, regarding the purchase of donkeys and camels in Karamojo for the expedition. Finding food was coming in abundantly at Mbai, he and Bright left on the 24th for Ngaboto, which place they reached on July 5. They at once made friends with the Turkana, and constructed a stockaded fort there, which they occupied until my arrival in the middle of August.

The Swahilis left behind at Save by Tracy and Bright in the previous February to look after the expedition stores at the foot of the mountain had twice been attacked by the Wa-Kimama from the neighbourhood of the chain of small lakes in the plains to the west. On both occasions the natives were successfully repulsed, but for better security the garrison removed all the stores to the hill camp, and abandoned the lower boma (post). The details regarding further arrangements for the exploratory work to be undertaken I must leave for another chapter, now that we have reached our permanent base on the beautiful spurs of Mount Elgon.

CHAPTER IX

PREPARATIONS FOR EXPLORATORY WORK

We who had just arrived at Mbai, including our Wa-Kavirondo porters, numbered between 500 and 600 souls, all of whom had to be fed, and required close on twenty loads of food per diem. We did not wish, however, to draw on the food already collected, and as plenty was obtainable locally at Mbai, and little or nothing at Save, as we knew from previous experience, Macdonald decided to halt for a time at Mbai. Meanwhile, arrangements had to be made to transport the large amount of food already collected to the lower Save boma, and with this object Ferguson and Pereira left Mbai on July 13 with the whole caravan, carrying all the loads we brought from Mumia's and some seventy-five food loads in addition, which were stocked at Sore. Next day Pereira returned to Mbai with all the Wa-Kavirondo and Swahili porters empty. They then, in addition to mine and the Major's kit, carried some 250 loads of flour back to Sore, where we also marched.

On the 15th Headquarters halted at Sore, whilst Pereira proceeded to the Upper Save camp with the Wa-Kavirondo with the loads brought from Mumia's and some seventy loads of flour. At the same time 150 Swahilis went back to Mbai to bring on more flour from that place, both parties returning to Sore the same day, the former empty and the latter with 143 loads of flour. Next day Macdonald and Pereira proceeded to Save with the whole caravan loaded up, leaving Ferguson and me at Sore with a few men to look

after those loads which they were unable to carry. The empty porters having returned to Sore from Save next morning, we started off with the balance of the food loads, which had now all been transported from Mbai to Save upper camp—a distance of from twelve to thirteen miles over difficult hilly country.

I had been far from well again, suffering from a very painful complaint, which had again necessitated my being carried in a hammock from Mbai to Sore, and was now attacked by fever, as I had been anything but strong since we reached Mumia's nearly a month previously. However, I picked up during the next few days and am happy to say only had one feverish night for the remainder of the expedition, and it was eight months before we saw Mombasa again. On July 18 some 40 men and 128 donkeys and 2 camels, sent back by Tracy from Ngaboto on the 10th, reached Save. The same day men sent on by Sheriff, who had contracted with Tracy to purchase transport animals in Karamojo, arrived from that district saying we could expect, within the next few days, a consignment of 10 camels, 50 donkeys, and 300 goats and sheep. The prices that Sheriff had contracted were as follows: 10 camels for 10 cows; 15 cows for 150 donkeys; 5 cows for 300 sheep and goats; and 150 skins, for making donkey-saddles with, at 10 strings of beads each.

On July 19 Kirkpatrick and McLoughlin arrived, both looking extremely well and fit after their voyage of discovery and exploration on Lake Choga and its extensions. From Kampala they had proceeded north to Kakunguru's fort, accompanied by that chief, and had crossed the Nile, where it enters the lake, in canoes, and ascended Mount Pegi on the opposite bank. They obtained a most extended view of the lake from this high ground, and explored it in canoes for several days. Kirkpatrick had made a careful survey of it, and proved the lake to be a most important sheet of

water, some fifty to sixty miles in length, and varying from ten to twelve in width, with numerous small bays and several islands. The natives at the south of the lake were very friendly, and at one place—Msara—they reported that the mutineers had been there with some of the Wakedi of the northern shores to purchase food with empty cartridge-cases. Although the Wakedi on the southern shores brought in food in abundance for Kirkpatrick's party, those on the northern were reported very hostile, and hand-in-glove with the mutineers. From Lake Choga they had marched south by a new route through Northern Usoga to Lubwa's, whence they proceeded by canoe to Port Victoria, and marched into Mumia's, arriving on July 8. The march from Mumia's to Save by the eastern route round Elgon had been accomplished by them in nine days—a very fine performance considering the difficulties of the road.

With the exception of the Ngaboto column, the whole expedition was now concentrated at Save, and arrangements were at once made to transport all loads down to the lower boma. Ferguson and Pereira made the descent, therefore, with the full caravan on the 20th; but whilst the Swahilis returned the same day, the Wa-Kavirondo remained below, as they were now to return to Mumia's with Moody, after working most admirably and cheerfully for us during the last month. Meanwhile, Macdonald, Kirkpatrick, and I were hard at work on maps, sketches, reports, etc., which were to be submitted to England before we started off again from our base. Kirkpatrick now was attacked by fever, for the first time, I believe, during the expedition, and his health now seems to have become indifferent, as McLoughlin has told me that up to the day of his much regretted death he was frequently down with fever, and always far from well. The transportation of loads still continued; but whilst Macdonald and I proceeded to the lower boma on the 22nd, Kirkpatrick and McLoughlin remained on the

hill with their men to derive all the benefit they could from the fine climate of the plateau before starting off again.

There are large quantities of ore in some of the rocks hereabouts, and Macdonald and I obtained bewildering results when using the compass for bearings to distant peaks. For instance, standing on one large rock, from the centre I obtained a bearing to a peak of 228°, from the left edge of the rock some eight yards from the centre 340°, and from the other edge, about the same distance from the centre, 330°.

On reaching the lower boma, we found my old friend of the previous year, Sheriff, had just arrived from Manimani in Karamojo. Instead of bringing 150 donkeys, 10 camels, 300 goats and sheep, he had only 64 donkeys, 10 camels, 220 goats and sheep, and, worst of all, 4 skins instead of 150, wherewith to manufacture donkey-saddles. The next few days were busily employed by us in making and fitting saddles for the animals, and we had to make shift with curious materials now that we had not the skins. Tarpaulins were ruthlessly cut up, ordinary trade cloth, gunny bags, and anything that we could lay our hands on, had to be utilized for this most important service.

None of the animals obtained from Karamojo had ever before carried loads, and we spent a really lovely time breaking in the camels to pack-work. They were a weedy crowd to look at unloaded, and it seemed that they could carry barely more than a donkey ; but the way in which those ungainly brutes could prance when they wished to part company with loads placed on them to train them filled one with a certain amount of admiration for their physical efforts. They evidently intended to kick against the pricks, but they were all defeated by patience and kindness —all except one, and he was a perfect devil. When loaded nothing would induce him to get up from the ground, where he lay and rolled and grunted in the most terrifying manner. It was useless lighting a fire under his tail—he

preferred heat to cold—and there he lay noisily warming himself, but steadily refusing to get up on his feet. He won, and walked to Ngaboto without a load. We tackled the ruffian again there, and he fairly made the place hum ; but we defeated him, and he carried a load all right after. He had plenty of grit, but he was like the man who always felt all of a tremble when there was any work knocking around.

I should give some idea of the organization now of the expedition, which was to work in three columns. The Headquarter Column, under Macdonald, was to advance to Bukora, and subsequently to the Latuka country through Karamojo. The Rudolf Column, under my command, was to proceed to the Omo River, which flows into the north of Lake Rudolf ; whilst the third column, under Tracy, was to look after the base and lines of communication of the two columns, and establish a mail with the Mumia's post on the Uganda road.

The Headquarter Column was composed as follows :

Europeans (Macdonald, McLoughlin, Pereira) -	3
Sikhs, with 2 followers and 1 Maxim - -	17
Sudanese - - - - -	35
Swahilis (of whom 110 were porters) - -	189
Sudanese women and followers - - -	23
Masai, etc. - - - - -	8
Total - - -	275

Kirkpatrick was attached to this column, with his small column of 6 Sudanese and 18 Swahili askaris and 52 Swahilis —a total of 76 men.

The loads to be carried amounted to 360, including 25 of ammunition, 42 of trade goods, and 140 of food.

The transport available consisted of 152 porters and 128 donkeys, giving a carrying power of 364 loads.

The armed strength was 1 Maxim, 56 soldiers, and 208 Swahilis.

The food carried was sufficient for twenty-seven days.

The Rudolf Column was constituted as follows :

Europeans (Austin, Ferguson, Bright) - -	3
Sikhs, with 1 Maxim - - - -	10
Sudanese - - - - -	15
Swahilis (including 87 porters) - - -	134
Masai and others - - - -	11
Sudanese women - - - -	8
Total - - -	181

The above numbers include the strength as it left Ngaboto, where more men and animals were taken over, and not as it left Save, and the same remarks apply to the following details of the column. The loads to be carried amounted to 277, including 18 loads of trade goods, 12 of ammunition, and 147 of food.

The transport available consisted of 87 porters, 14 camels, and 90 donkeys, giving a carrying power of 277 loads.

The armed strength was 1 Maxim, 25 soldiers, and 90 Swahilis.

The food carried, including rations obtained at the Ngaboto post, would suffice for fifty days from Save.

The third column, under Tracy, consisted of :

European (Tracy) - - - -	1
Sudanese - - - - -	19
Sudanese women - - - -	12
Swahilis - - - - - -	159
Indians - - - - - -	3
Masai, etc. - - - - -	13
Total - - -	207

Of these, however, the mail service and garrisons of the posts at Mbai, Upper Save, and Lower Save, absorbed a number of men, leaving free for a movable column only 110.

The armed strength of the column consisted of 19 soldiers and 127 Swahilis. The transport available amounted to

50 porters, subsequently augmented by Tracy with donkeys, purchased by him in Karamojo.

The complete strength of the expedition at this date has now been enumerated, and it may be of interest to compare its condition now with what it formerly was before the mutiny operations. At the Ravine station our carrying power amounted in all to 1,240 loads. We could now only transport 705. To make up for deficiency of escort, porters had to be withdrawn for garrison and escort duty, and where, as formerly, we had 450 porters available for carrying, we now only had 303. Our camels were reduced from 52 to 14, including the 10 fresh ones obtained in Karamojo. The donkeys, formerly numbering 277, now amounted to 218, including those recently obtained from Karamojo, whilst of the 70 bullocks formerly carrying loads, none were available now for that purpose. Our armed strength also was very considerably reduced, from 750 troops and armed Swahilis to 525. It was hoped, however, that much useful work might still be done, in spite of the losses and hardships suffered during the campaign against the mutineers and Mwanga's rebels, although the trying time we had all experienced previously had somewhat impaired the health and physical condition generally both of men and officers. The spirit, however, was willing and anxious to explore new fields, and the only anxiety was how far the flesh would be able to bear the extra exertions asked of it, and how much could still be done in the comparatively short time yet before us. The exploratory work we were able to undertake I now propose to describe to the reader, who, I trust, will find some interest in accompanying each of the three columns in turn.

CHAPTER X

HEADQUARTERS TO GULE AND TITI

On July 27, 1898, the Headquarter Column was separated from the remainder of the expedition concentrated at the Lower Save boma, and crossed to the opposite bank of the stream to that on which the post had been constructed. To reach the country of Karamojo it was necessary to pass to the east of Mount Dabasien before turning north; but recently such heavy rains had fallen that the intervening grass plain between Elgon and that mountain had been converted into swamp, so the direct route across the plain was impassable for donkeys. Macdonald decided, therefore, to march east along the foot of Elgon to the Kisimchanga River before striking for Dabasien, hoping thus to avoid the greater portion of the swamp. Even so a considerable amount of swamp existed, which necessitated the donkey loads being carried by porters, thus causing considerable delay before the Kisimchanga was reached on July 30. From that point the column turned in a northerly direction; but still encountering much swamp, progress was very slow until Dabasien had been reached, as several swampy streams in the plain had to be crossed. It was not until August 2, therefore, that the column struck the direct route from Save to Dabasien, which is usually traversed in dry weather in three easy marches. Continuing along the foot of the eastern slopes of Dabasien, the 'going' still remained heavy and difficult until the gravelly, stony soil to the north of the mountain was entered, when progress at once improved.

The upper slopes of Dabasien are inhabited by a section of Wa-Suk, but a very insignificant offshoot of the more important tribe occupying the mountains to the east. They are very poor and very shy, and, beyond possessing perhaps a few goats and sheep, appear to have no means of obtaining a livelihood except by hunting, as they cultivate no fields of corn, and avoid all strangers. When this mountain has been rounded the track becomes hard and firm, and the country thinly wooded. The streams now crossed flow east and ultimately join the Turkwel River further south, whereas the streams to the south of the mountain pour their waters into the Nile. The first populated district of Karamojo was reached on August 6, in the neighbourhood of a broad, sandy-bedded nullah, whence an abundant supply of water was obtained on digging. Here, at Manimani, many small villages exist, but although the natives were extremely friendly, and perhaps the finest type physically of any natives in the whole of Africa, they were unable to supply the column with any grain, their own crops not yet being ripe, whilst little still remained to them of their previous harvest.

The Swahili traders at Save had built a stockaded enclosure on the back of the river at Manimani, and when the column arrived they found it occupied by some thirty of these men. They had lately intercepted a letter from the Sudanese mutineers to those remnants of Emin Pasha's old soldiery who had settled down in Latuka and the adjoining districts. When the letter came into the possession of the Swahilis it was being carried by natives, who were endeavouring to find any Sudanese in the country who were able to read it. It was an earnest appeal from the mutineers, calling on all their old comrades, wherever they might be, to hasten to their assistance against the Christians, and had been answered in an indefinite kind of way by a gentleman of the name of Mini-Shook-bin-Nimi-bin-Keeg-el-

Sharazi-Bey—a grandson, apparently, of Keeg-el-Sharazi-Bey, and proud of his genealogical tree. The Swahilis knew little regarding the old soldiers in Latuka, but they reported that whilst in the Gule district—some ten days' march north of Manimani—from which they had recently returned, they were met by some 300 Sudanese settled near there, who were perfectly friendly to them, and had brought in food for sale. These men were armed with Remingtons and muzzle-loaders, employed Turkish words of command when drilling, and were accompanied by a bugler. Other old soldiers were reported to have settled down in Latuka, and had expressed the desire to hold no intercourse with Europeans.

From such evidence as was obtained from the Swahilis, it appeared likely that these Sudanese were old soldiers of the Egyptian Government, or, at least, their children ; but at the same time there was a possibility of their being Congo mutineers. It was by no means improbable, also, that they were in communication with the Uganda mutineers, by parties of whom they may perhaps have been visited. Hampered by a large amount of baggage and many transport animals, Macdonald decided that, before proceeding north, it would certainly be prudent to first reconnoitre with a light column. With this object a post at Manimani was formed, and a guard left there with the Sudanese women, transport animals, and all baggage not likely to be at once required for the next month or six weeks. Should the Sudanese prove friendly at Gule, or too weak to be formidable, a post could be formed in that district, whilst all the details left at Manimani could be brought on again by a column returning for that purpose.

There were several points, however, worthy of consideration. The Sudanese soldiers with the column could scarcely be expected to fight with any enthusiasm against their comrades, the mutineers, should they be met. The native

officer, Mahomed Ratib, suggested that if the Sudanese reported north proved to be the mutineers, he would advise that the Sudanese of the escort had their cartridges taken from them. They could not do much harm then. Although he considered the majority of the escort fairly reliable, some, he thought, were not, and in the event of hostilities these latter might corrupt the loyal men. Macdonald decided, however, to trust his men, and his confidence was not misplaced. The column remained halted for two days at Manimani, whilst the arrangements were being carried out for the forward move, and as food was unobtainable locally, the headman of the donkey transport was sent back to Save to bring on to Manimani from that place seventy loads of flour to await the return of the party from Gule.

On August 9 Macdonald marched from Manimani with Kirkpatrick, McLoughlin, Pereira, 1 Maxim, 15 Sikhs, 35 Sudanese, 50 Swahili askaris, 100 armed Swahili porters, and 61 unarmed porters and followers. Rations for eighteen days were being carried, and it was hoped more would be obtained at Gule. Two marches in a direction slightly north of west brought the column to Bukora, some twenty-five and a half miles from Manimani. Numerous villages and much cultivation were seen, but water is scarce, and artificial tanks are constructed by the natives for its storage. The direct route from Bukora to Gule passes close to Mount Jiwe, the inhabitants of which and the neighbouring district were reported to be very hostile and treacherous. As it appeared inadvisable to waste time or strength in needless fighting with savages, when a far more serious conflict with the Sudanese was possible beyond, it was decided to pass north to the east of Jiwe before bearing west again to Gule. It was more than likely also that the Jiwe natives were on friendly terms with the Sudanese, whom they might acquaint of the approach of the column, thus frustrating Macdonald's intentions. The column therefore marched

north again, crossing the Akinyo River, which had already been previously done several times between Manimani and Bukora, as well as two of its tributaries, and traversed an open grass plain to the Apule River, which was reached on August 12. Next day water was obtained from a rock pool, reported to be never dry, at Kabileathi, and on the 14th Magosi was reached.

Here there were a few villages and large areas of almost ripe grain, which, of course, the Swahilis could not resist, and started looting on their own account. However, those caught were flogged in the presence of the natives, who realized that these depredations on their fields were made in direct disobedience of the orders of the officers, and their wrath was appeased.

Still continuing in a northerly direction, three more marches brought the column to Edeng, on the Athonuth River, some thirty-two and a half miles from Magosi, the country becoming somewhat more hilly between those two places, and water-courses at more frequent intervals than previously. The country had been steadily rising, and although crops were standing, they were in a more backward state than at Manimani, and the column in consequence were able to obtain no food. Half the rations were now exhausted, and the natives reported food to be only procurable four long marches to the west. It was expedient to arrange that the column, after reaching Gule, should have sufficient food to enable it to return to Manimani if necessary, so the men's flour ration was cut down and supplemented with a meat ration. At the same time twelve armed men were sent back to Manimani with orders to bring on the reserve rations left at that place, and form an intermediate food depot at Apule with them. Edeng is in the Dodosi district and nearly due north of Bukora; the country traversed between these two districts is for the most part open grass plain, lying 4,000 to 5,000 feet above

sea-level, with patches of bush here and there near rivers and water-courses.

From this point the column struck in a westerly direction, being well to the north of Jiwe—Gule being pretty well due west of Edeng. The first camp from Edeng was at Titi, near the Thibak River. The column, however, obtained its water from rock pools, as the river was somewhat distant. Cultivation was abundant, but the crops were so backward that no food was obtainable. Next day a long march of seventeen miles was made through tall grass, and the Thibak, Lukelak, and other streams crossed, before the Chapeth River was reached and camp pitched on its bank. The track now ran at the foot of the Rom Hills, still through long, coarse grass, until Gule was entered on August 21, the distance being a trifle over forty-five miles from Edeng. The village is a small one, situated by a small rocky stream, and lying at the foot of the southern slopes of the Rom Hills. The neighbouring plain is extensively cultivated, whilst other small villages exist on the hillsides. The grain crops were, unfortunately, far from ripe, and only small quantities of beans were procured by the column. It at once became evident that, although the natives (Langus) were perfectly friendly and willing to help as much as possible, the present resources of the district seemed incapable of being able to sustain the column for a longer period than merely a few days. The natives themselves only possessed small supplies of flour, barely sufficient, indeed, to tide them over the time they would still have to wait before they could gather in their next harvest. The outlook was anything but reassuring, as the men had to be fed—that is one of the curses of African travel. If one could only train a party of 100 men to live on roots, one could go anywhere; but cereals alone seem to satisfy Swahilis.

It was decided, therefore, to send out messengers at once

to invite the Sudanese, reported here, to visit the camp and bring in food for sale. In the evening of August 25 some 100 Shulis arrived, accompanied by two old Sudanese soldiers. These latter were suspicious at first, but after they had recognised one or two acquaintances of former days amongst the Sudanese of the escort they became friendly and communicative. The party brought in sufficient food to last the column for a few days, and to some extent relieved the anxiety felt regarding supplies. None of them were armed with breech-loaders, although a good many muskets were carried. The two old soldiers stated they had been communicated with by the mutineers, and that some of their numbers had already joined them; they assured Macdonald that only nine of Emin's old soldiers remained in this country; but the Sudanese of the escort considered this statement to be false, and that there were many more than this number in the country. After selling food, the party left, promising to return shortly with a further supply.

Macdonald decided, therefore, to remain a few days at Gule to ascertain whether the local markets could maintain an advanced post, which it was intended to form at this place. During this stay parties came from the Langus of Nangani and Shulis of Lira and Umia, the two old soldiers returning with a caravan of Shulis, bringing food as before. The total amount of flour, grain, and beans purchased was about one and a half tons.

With the Umia party was another old Sudanese, who informed Macdonald that he had been sent by the mutineers to hunt up any old soldiers still living amongst the Shulis and Langus, and as he had heard of the arrival of the column with Sudanese at Gule, he had come to see them. He reported that the mutineers had abandoned their position near Mruli in June, and marched into the Shuli country, where they established a large fort at Logoloum. Here

they had been joined by Kabarega's Sudanese and others, and their total force amounted to 400 rifles. The Shulis were stated to be on friendly terms with the mutineers, who possessed a machine-gun and two small cannon. These statements agreed with those of the natives living near Gule, who had informed Macdonald that the mutineers had established themselves near Fayira, and were being supplied with food from Fatiko. Although absolute reliance could not be placed on the accuracy of the above information, yet it seemed apparent that a large force of the mutineers were unpleasantly close to his flank should Macdonald decide to continue west.

On August 30 a post was left at Gule, garrisoned by a force of 13 Sikhs, with 1 Maxim, 30 Sudanese, 24 Swahili askaris, and 48 armed porters, under McLoughlin and Kirkpatrick; whilst Macdonald and Pereira returned to Manimani to bring on the remainder of the column with the heavy baggage. On his departure the camp at Gule was moved to the bank of a stream, about half a mile distant, where it was pitched on a site suitable for defence, entrenched, and provided with a strong abattis of thorn bushes outside. The surrounding country was cleared for a distance of about 400 yards all round, to give a good field of fire—a work of considerable labour, as the grass was very high and thick, and many trees had to be cut down. The food-supply was still causing much anxiety, as the requirements of the garrison could not be provided locally, and the natives who had visited the previous camp from a distance did not return with more food, as they had promised.

For a radius of twenty to twenty-five miles the country was visited in search of food by parties from the post, and it appeared impossible that McLoughlin and Kirkpatrick would be able to store the amount of food required by Macdonald for his further advance. Indeed, the garrison could barely maintain itself. On September 5 the fortified

camp was visited by the chief of Umia—a man named Toke —who stated that the mutineers, with Bilal and Rehan, were at Vura, three days' march from Umia, and were accompanied by many Waganda Mohammedans and Shulis. The first party of mutineers had arrived some three months before, and others had followed since. With them were Manyema and men from Khartoum, armed with breech-loading rifles, whilst they posseesed also a Maxim and plenty of ammunition. A strong fort had been constructed on the bank of a lake or large river at the foot of a hill, overlooking it, on which Kabarega and his faction were camped. The number of Sudanese was reported to be about 400, whilst another party was said to be in the neighbourhood of Wadelai. The truth of these statements was doubtful, but, at the same time, the officer commanding at Gule considered it only right to send an account of it on to Macdonald, and also to point out the great difficulty the garrison were experiencing regarding food.

For several weeks past Kirkpatrick had been suffering from severe attacks of fever, but was so far convalescent on September 19 that McLoughlin was able to leave him for a time at Gule, whilst he proceeded north to explore a route which it was thought that the Headquarters would subsequently march by. The chief of Kiteng had a few days previously visited Gule, and offered to sell food, if a party were sent to his district to fetch it, as his people would not bring it in themselves. A party had consequently been sent there, and returned with as much food as they could carry. On September 17 the chief of Lira had brought about two loads of food, and reported that he had heard Sudanese were settled at a place eight or nine marches from Gule. McLoughlin remained at Kiteng several days purchasing food, a considerable quantity being obtainable there, and the inhabitants very friendly. These informed McLoughlin that Jardin Effendi, with eighty men, had about

three weeks previously reached the Turkan Hill, some fifteen miles south-west. Hearing of the vicinity of a force commanded by British officers, he had, however, retired south. They also reported that a skirmish had recently taken place between Indian troops and the mutineers, after which the former had returned again to Unyoro. Some of Emin's old soldiers were also stated to be living in Latuka, which country had not long previously been visited by Dervishes, from Bor on the Nile.

When Macdonald was returning from Manimani towards Gule, he received, on September 17, the letter which had been forwarded to him by McLoughlin, referred to previously, and decided to halt at Titi, and recall the garrison at Gule to that place. The natives here were not in touch with the Shulis, who would be unable, therefore, to give the mutineers much information regarding the strength or weakness of the column. Orders were sent, therefore, to McLoughlin to withdraw the Gule post, and, as that officer was absent in Kiteng, Kirkpatrick forwarded the letter to him. McLoughlin was unfortunately suffering from fever now, so some delay was occasioned; but he eventually rejoined Kirkpatrick, and the garrison, abandoning Gule, proceeded to Titi, where it arrived on September 29, and the Head-quarter Column was once more reunited.

Macdonald and Pereira had left Gule, as previously stated, on August 30 to bring on the remainder of the column and the heavy baggage from Manimani. They started with only five days' rations, which would have to last them until Manimani was reached if anything had interfered with the forming of the food depot at Apule, which has already been referred to. In any case, it would have to suffice as far as Apule—nine marches distant, it may be remembered, from Gule, whilst Manimani was thirteen. The distance from Gule to Apule was 114 miles, which were covered in seven days, and here the food depot had been successfully estab-

MAJOR MCLOUGHLIN, D.S.O.

lished, so additional food was picked up, and the remaining forty miles to Manimani marched in three days. On arrival there, Macdonald found that Tracy had arrived from Ngaboto and Save, and was busily engaged in organizing the fresh transport arrangements necessary for the assistance of the Rudolf Column by purchasing donkeys and hides for the manufacture of saddles.

The Headquarters commenced its return march to Gule, accompanied by all the transport animals and heavy baggage, Manimani being now abandoned, on September 11. When Areu was reached, on the 17th, the letter forwarded from Gule to Macdonald was received by him, and as on his way through Titi from Gule he had noticed, early in the month, that the crops were nearly ripe, he decided for that and the reasons previously given to withdraw the Gule post to that place. The main body reached Titi on September 20, having covered the 109 miles, although very heavily laden, in ten days. Whilst awaiting the arrival of Kirkpatrick and McLoughlin, arrangements were at once entered on with the friendly Wa-Karamojo for the purchase of grain, and these proved so satisfactory that from twenty to twenty-five loads were easily purchased per diem. This relieved Macdonald of all anxiety regarding food for the forward move to Latuka, the details of which were quietly pushed forward, pending the return of the Gule garrison.

To return now to that force. Whilst at Kiteng, McLoughlin had been visited by the Sultan of Turkan, to whom the chief of Kiteng was subject, and friendly relations had at once been established with him. He brought a quantity of food to McLoughlin, who, unfortunately, was unable to purchase it, for he had received orders to return to Titi, and had already procured as much as his small party of men were able to carry away with them. During his absence Kirkpatrick had also been visited by a small party from the south, who had brought him in a little food, and confirmed

what had already been previously reported regarding the proximity of the mutineers.

The Headquarter Column being concentrated at Titi, I will now bring this chapter to a close, and devote a new one to their further exploration and experiences when proceeding to Latuka, and to their return journey to Save.

CHAPTER XI

HEADQUARTERS TO LATUKA—RETURN TO SAVE

In the further advance from Titi Macdonald decided to avoid passing Gule, and to proceed to Kiteng by a pass through the Solian range of hills, as he did not wish the mutineers to learn of his movements from the Shulis. A post was first established at Titi under the command of Kirkpatrick, the garrison of which consisted of seventy armed men, and a number of unarmed men and followers. Kirkpatrick was to collect and store some 100 loads of flour against the return of the main body from Latuka, which was anticipated would be within the next six weeks, and at the same time to map as much of the country to the north or east as he could, without absenting himself from the post for longer periods at a time than ten days. If the mutineers should by any chance attempt to attack him he was to fall back on Bukora, unless he was attacked from that direction, in which case he was to try and maintain his position at Titi.

On October 3 the main body separated itself from Kirkpatrick's command, and marched the following day in heavy rain along the Gule road. The former route was again adhered to next day until approaching the Lukelak River, when it was left and a more northerly course adopted. The river was crossed on October 6, and the column marched to the foot of the Nangiya Hills, and then continued northwards along the foot of the eastern slopes, and camped on the bank of a running stream near the village of Kakwanga.

Still continuing north along the slopes, the village of Kathile was reached, near the pass over the Solian range, and here many natives, who at first were very suspicious, were met with, and large areas of cultivation seen. On October 9 the highest point of the pass was reached and camp pitched below it. The ascent was very difficult, and although only eight miles were marched, much hard work fell on the porters and the baggage animals. The highest point is situated some 5,300 feet above sea-level, and the slopes of the mountains are dotted with villages and patches of cultivation, the scenery being magnificent. The descent to Solian, some five miles distant from the Walala stream, where camp had been pitched the previous day, proved a very laborious undertaking, owing to the steep, rocky nature of the track, whilst heavy rain added much to the discomfort of the column, which halted the following day.

From Solian to Kiteng the column marched some fourteen miles across a plain, and camped on the bank of a muddy stream near the village of a chief named Nero, and next day made a short march along the southern slopes of the Kiteng Hills to the village of the principal chief, Kilamoyo. On reaching this place it was found that Sheikh Aggo, of Fadibek, had sent his brother with a small party of men to make friends with McLoughlin, but, as the latter had left for Titi before their arrival, they had decided to wait in hopes of his return. The site of an old Egyptian post existed at Kiteng, but no signs of it now were visible, and the natives, who were very friendly, were most anxious that the post should be re-established. Kilamoyo himself volunteered to accompany the column to Latuka as guide, and his services proved of great value, as he was able to speak Arabic. Continuing in a north-westerly direction, on October 14 Akol was reached, some seventeen miles from Kiteng, the track crossing a short but very rough pass in the hills, and then traversing a flat plain of long

grass, with a sprinkling of thorn-trees here and there. Several villages were passed and four water-courses, containing small quantities of water. A good deal of cultivation exists round Akol. Whilst here the camp was visited by two chiefs from the adjacent villages, carrying Remington rifles. They were very friendly and communicative, and confirmed previous reports regarding Sudanese in Latuka, but had heard nothing of the Uganda mutineers since these latter had left Turkan.

The latter piece of intelligence was of considerable importance, for if the mutineers had intended to assume the offensive against the column news of their movements would probably have been obtained here. Again news of a fight near Unyoro was brought to Macdonald, in which the Sudanese loss was said to be only trifling. The mutineers, reinforced to about 400 men, were reported only fifty miles distant, and their proximity naturally caused no little anxiety. If left alone by the Uganda authorities, there was the possibility of their trying to intercept Macdonald's column when they ascertained its weakness—more especially if they thought that by so doing they might capture an additional supply of ammunition. Yet, on the other hand, if attacked by the Uganda authorities, the mutineers might be driven on to Macdonald's lines of communication.

Again, another source of anxiety arose from the possibility of the Sudanese in Latuka proving hostile, while reports regarding Dervish movements were so conflicting that it was quite uncertain whether they, too, would not be encountered. The position was certainly precarious, but it was decided to push on to Latuka, and on the 15th a march of fourteen and a half miles was made in a northerly direction over a grassy plain to Mozinga, a village at the base of the Teretenia Mountains.

Continuing along the eastern slopes next day the village of Logile was reached, near which large areas of cultivation

existed. Still proceeding along the base of the hills for some distance, the column then struck across the grassy plain extending north to Sarao village, at the foot of the southern slopes of the Kokir Hills. This village acknowledged the sovereignty of the Sultan of Latuka, and the appearance of Dervish 'jibbas,' in which some of the natives were clad, caused very considerable sensation in the column. It was reassured, however, when the natives explained that, although the Sultan had joined the Dervishes to save his country, he was very pleased to welcome Europeans. It now transpired that there had been formerly a large Sudanese force in Latuka, but the majority of these had accompanied the Dervishes to Bor, and only a very small number still remained at Tarangole. The chief of Sarao himself was clad in a jibba, but, like all the natives hereabouts, was extremely friendly, and offered to act as guide to the column to Tarangole, the capital of Latuka. Unfortunately, that country had recently been devastated by locusts, and it was reported that no food was procurable there now. As plenty, however, was obtainable at Sarao, Macdonald decided to halt there on October 18 to purchase some, and continued his march on the 19th.

A band of mountain robbers, hostile towards all their neighbours, occupy the villages of Kekeri on the hillsides between Sarao and the friendly village of Madok. These turned out in large numbers, fully armed, as though intending to attack the column whilst it passed along the track, above which they had taken up their position. Considerable delay was caused owing to the aggressive attitude assumed by the natives, which necessitated a slow and cautious advance, every precaution being observed against a sudden attack. When the hills on which the villages were situated had nearly been passed, the natives changed their tactics, on finding that no harm was intended them, and offered to sell food. As a heavy thunderstorm was

threatening, it was decided to halt short of Madok near a rock pool. Subsequently the chief of that place visited the camp, accompanied by men wearing an extraordinary helmet of felted hair daubed with red earth and ornamented with brass, which forms the head-dress of all the men of any importance in Latuka.

As the village was only about half an hour distant, it was passed early next day. It is most picturesquely situated on the summit of a striking rock. The village of Katel, a large and important one, was reached the same day, but the chiefs asked that the column should proceed no further until they had time to warn the Sultan of Latuka, who would naturally expect to be informed of the advent of an armed force within his borders. A letter written in Arabic was therefore at once despatched to Tarangole, and the column, crossing the river Adigile, camped near the village of Olianga. At 10 p.m. the same evening the camp was aroused by a great drumming and shouting from the direction of Loggouren, and everyone at once became on the alert, as its meaning was not quite understood. An hour and a half later five old Sudanese soldiers of the Egyptian Government arrived in camp and informed Macdonald that, although the letter had reached Tarangole, unfortunately nobody there had been able to decipher it! The characters were recognised, however, by some of the savants as being Arabic, and the Sultan had therefore decided to set out to meet the column. He was camped for the night with an escort at Loggouren, the queen-mother's village, and would come on next day. The old Sudanese, however, were so anxious to meet their kindred that they had hastened on to the camp. They very soon recognised some old friends amongst the escort of the column, and said that they and the remaining Sudanese in Latuka would be most willing to enter the British service.

The next day—October 21—the Sultan arrived with a

large following, and, though at first somewhat alarmed at the strength of the column, very soon became reassured and most friendly. He quite agreed to the Sudanese taking service with the British Government, and stated that the nearest Dervish post was, or had been a short time before, in Berri. Camp was moved the same day to Loggouren, a fine village situated on an isolated rocky hill, forming a natural stronghold.

The column was accompanied by the Sultan, who slept there that night, after arranging to proceed next day to Tarangole with anyone that wished to visit his capital. Macdonald and McLoughlin, with half the force, therefore, continued with the Sultan the following morning and returned the same day to Loggouren. The capital consisted of the Sultan's village, which is nearly a mile in length and about a quarter of a mile in width, with several other villages of considerable size in the vicinity. The Sultan entertained all most hospitably, presenting the officers with valuable ivory tusks, whilst the men were regaled on ground-nuts, which was the only food the district now produced. Next day Pereira and the other half of the column visited the capital, and were equally well entertained.

Macdonald now considered the question of continuing his advance and pushing through to Lado on the Nile. On inquiring of the Sultan, he learned that no gunboats from the Sudan had arrived at Lado, which occasioned no surprise, as it was more than likely the Nile had been closed to the north by sudd, and communication between the Sudan and Uganda blocked. The question of food-supply, however, proved an insuperable difficulty. Only ground-nuts were procurable, and men unaccustomed to this form of diet soon sicken and die. There still remained, however, sufficient reserve rations to almost enable the column to reach Lado, but nothing would be left for the return journey. The trade goods were all but exhausted, so it would be im-

possible for the column to maintain itself at Lado, or even procure food for the return journey, unless the gunboats were there to assist. Under the circumstances it would serve no useful purpose to proceed to Lado, so Macdonald decided not to subject the men to unnecessary hardships from sickness, as it was already evident that a considerable number of the men were suffering from the effects of the ground-nut diet.

It was decided, therefore, to return to Titi. Some thirty-five Sudanese at Tarangole expressed a desire to return with the column and enlist as soldiers under the British Government, and arrangements were accordingly made for them and their women to accompany the column. The return journey was commenced on October 25, and the former footsteps retraced to nearly as far south as Mozinga. From this point it was decided to visit the Kuron Hills, a northerly continuation of the Solian Hills, so on October 29 the column followed a native track in an easterly direction across the plain and camped on the bank of the Moghal River. The hills were reached the following day, and the column camped near the village of Lofus, the inhabitants of which were friendly. Proceeding now in a southerly direction along the western slopes of the hills, covered with bamboo jungle, progress became difficult, and heavy rains added to the discomforts of the road. Consequently, when Solian was reached again, on November 1, a halt was made on the 2nd, as the men had suffered greatly from the constant rain of the two previous days. It was decided now to explore a new route to the Gule-Titi road, as the pass over the Solian range had been found previously so difficult. Guides were obtained who knew of an easier track between the Rom and Nangiya Hills, which was accordingly followed, the Gule track being struck on November 5, and traversed in an easterly direction until Titi was once again reached on November 6.

Kirkpatrick and his men were found to be in excellent health, and he had been able to explore the Morongole Hills to the north of Titi. He had also been able to store a quantity of food, as he had purchased extensively when the crops had ripened and been cut down. Mails were awaiting the return of the Headquarter Column at Titi, and news was now received of the fall of the Kalifa's capital, Omdurman, and of the subsequent advance to Fashoda and up the Sobat. At the same time Martyr's expedition down the Nile was heard of for the first time.

On receipt of the intelligence regarding the break-up of the Dervish power, Macdonald carefully considered the possibility of attempting to join hands with the Egyptian troops on the Sobat by proceeding north to Nasser. The men, however, were fagged out and in an unhealthy condition; and as, since leaving Tarangole, they were looking forward to a speedy return to Mombasa and Zanzibar, were somewhat loath to make a fresh start into unknown regions. The supply of trade goods was all but exhausted, and what remained proved insufficient to buy the food requisite for the return of the column to Save, whilst the transport animals were visibly breaking down, as every donkey that had accompanied the column on its march to Latuka had already either died or reached Titi in a dying condition. Moreover, no guides were obtainable, and the natives stated that great difficulty would be experienced in finding water to the north —a fact which Kirkpatrick had verified himself during his trip to the Morongole Hills.

Under the circumstances it was decided to return to Save, and, after inspecting what stores still remained at the base, to reconsider the question. I may here remark, *en passant*, that I am of opinion it was most providential that Macdonald decided to give up the attempt at this stage. It was now November, the height of the rainy season in the Sobat region. The rivers are probably at their highest

during this month, and, having overflowed their banks, huge areas of swamp are formed, through which no donkeys could have travelled. The tall, rank grass at this time, too, is in places 12 to 15 feet in height, and practically impenetrable. Of these facts Macdonald was ignorant at the time he made his decision, but rather more than a year later I was destined to find myself in the Sobat region, and saw myself that, had he persisted in the undertaking he had considered, he would inevitably have come to grief, even with a small party of eighty men, and would never have struggled through to Nasser. In December, 1898, Major (now Lieutenant-Colonel) Capper was exploring the Sobat in a gunboat, and at that time found the whole surrounding country to be swampy, and covered with the tall, rank grass I have referred to, through which it was absolutely impossible to force a way. Apart from the question of food, which alone offered enormous difficulties, at first Macdonald would have been confronted with waterless wastes, which it is doubtful whether he could have traversed; and even had he succeeded in doing so and reached the swampy belt, I venture to think he and his gallant band would here have perished in their efforts to struggle through to Nasser, at the season of the year he would have reached those interminable swamps and grass. His position would have been a most desperate one—food probably exhausted, with an inhospitable, waterless wilderness behind him, and nothing but impenetrable grass and swamp before him. I have had considerable experience of the country, and can picture nothing more awful than his practically hopeless position would then have been.

On November 15, therefore, the Headquarter Column commenced its return march to Save. Following the route previously traversed, the Bukora district was reached in eight days, and camp pitched again on the Akinyo River, rain fortunately having fallen and the water-supply along

the route being replenished. It was now decided to halt here to purchase food for the remainder of the journey to Save. Meanwhile, Macdonald decided to despatch Kirkpatrick, with his seventy rifles and some armed porters, in a westerly direction towards the Nakwai Hills, to obtain some geographical information, and especially to determine the source and course of the Nakodokododoi River, which was reported to be the boundary of Karamojo to the west. The natives of the Nakwai Hills were reported to be perfectly friendly, the Swahili traders at Save and Manimani having visited that district twice, and on each occasion met with a friendly reception.

Kirkpatrick left Bukora, therefore, on November 24, with discretionary power to ascend the hills if any useful purpose could be served by so doing. The Nakodokododoi River was reached the same day, and the small column proceeded next day to the Nakwai Hills. On the evening of November 26 a party of his men arrived at Bukora with the dreadful news that poor Kirkpatrick and seven of his men had been treacherously murdered that morning by the natives at Nakwai. They reported that Kirkpatrick had camped at the foot of the hills on the 25th and been very hospitably received by the natives, who had brought in food. Next morning, therefore, he decided to ascend the hill, with a view to obtaining geographical information regarding the surrounding country, and ordered camp to be struck and the main body to return by the route they had come. He himself, with seven armed men and a native guide, went on into the hills for the purpose of ascending the highest peak, about six miles distant. He was accompanied by about twenty Nakwai natives, who pretended the greatest friendship, and offered to conduct him by the best route up the hills. Whilst proceeding, apparently, in single file, the natives seem to have fallen in at intervals, separating all the men from each other, and then, on a given signal,

suddenly speared the whole party (with the exception of one armed man and the native guide, who were in rear) before a shot could be fired. The Swahili interpreter, obtained from the Swahili traders, who was known to the Nakwai people, was also murdered with Kirkpatrick.

Meanwhile the camp had been struck, and whilst the men were awaiting the return of Kirkpatrick, his headman and two askaris were buying food at a small market some 300 yards from the camping-ground. These three men also were suddenly treacherously attacked, but whilst his two companions were killed outright, the headman escaped with a wound, and succeeded in getting back to camp, which he at once placed in a state of defence. Before he had reached camp, however, the man who had escaped amongst Kirkpatrick's party brought the news of his fate, and men were at once despatched to inform Macdonald of what had occurred. The headman also sent a party to try and recover poor Kirkpatrick's body, which they succeeded in doing, and, bringing it back, buried him in the middle of the defensible camp. Next day the natives attacked in force, but were beaten off with loss by the garrison.

On November 28 the company commenced its return march to join Macdonald in Bukora, but met the relieving force, who had proceeded with all haste to their assistance, on the morning of the 27th. The relieving force consisted of Macdonald, McLoughlin, Pereira, 13 Sikhs, 1 Maxim, and 104 Sudanese and Swahili rifles, the remainder of the column being left at the Akinyo camp under charge of that splendid old headman Raschid-bin-Omar, who had accompanied Sir Henry Stanley through Darkest Africa. Headman Mabruk, of Kirkpatrick's column, and his men returned with the Major to the zeriba they had shortly before abandoned, which was occupied for the night, whilst the enemy on the hills took up points of observation. Next morning Macdonald moved out with McLoughlin, Pereira, the 13

Sikhs and a Maxim, and some 95 Sudanese and Swahilis, to attack their strongholds, leaving the remainder of the force under Mabruk and Sudi, who had recovered Kirkpatrick's body—both of these men had been promoted—to guard the camp.

The punitive column marched some six miles up a valley towards the enemy's position, which was found to be a very strong one, as the path leading up to their villages was very narrow and wound up a steep ascent amongst rocks and dense bush. Their left flank was protected by sheer cliffs and almost impenetrable bush. On their right a steep grass slope ran up for 600 feet to the foot of precipices 50 to 200 feet in height. Their chief, a man named Tomatum, attempted to attract the attacking force into an ambuscade, and then gave the signal to his men to attack. He was immediately shot down, and the advance commenced by a section being despatched to turn the enemy's right, which disclosed the ambush. When discovered the enemy charged twice, hurling their spears, but were driven back each time, whereupon they took shelter, and concealed themselves amongst the boulders and rocks overlooking the track.

To have advanced directly, with the object of forcing the defile, would probably have entailed heavy loss, so Macdonald decided to move the whole force against their right, and after some fighting the enemy were driven back. They then occupied the summit of the line of precipices, whence they rolled down rocks, many of great size, which swept the grass slopes with tremendous velocity. Pereira was then ordered to fire on the stone-rollers with one section, whilst Macdonald pushed obliquely up the grass slope with another section towards a point where he observed the cliffs were climbable. When this point was approached Pereira, reinforced with his section and the half company, then drove the natives from their second position, and advanced to within 200 yards of the first village. They were now joined

by McLoughlin and the remainder of the force, who, moving more directly up the ascent, had cleared the enemy out of the defile and rocks commanding the path.

Whilst Macdonald took up a good supporting position with McLoughlin's half company and the Maxim, Pereira, with his half company, was ordered to rush the first village. The enemy had had enough, and at once bolted, and five villages, with large stores of grain and food, were burnt. The work of destruction round the chief's village being completed by 2.30 p.m., the column returned to camp. Pereira and his half company held the precipices until the remainder of the force had made the descent, when he followed with the rear-guard, his withdrawal being covered by the Maxim. Camp was reached at sunset. There were no casualties in the force, although men had been struck by fragments of rocks and stones, whilst others were bleeding from forcing their way through the defences of the position. The loss of the enemy was heavy, but the exact extent will probably never be known, as their wounded were generally removed.

Next day the force moved out again and destroyed the villages on the north side of the valley, the enemy offering no resistance after the rough handling they had experienced the previous day. Thirteen villages with their granaries were burnt, and all standing crops destroyed as far as time would permit. As the granaries contained the harvest just reaped, their destruction must have dealt the natives a heavy blow, for they possess no cattle, and only a few goats, of which many had been captured. One village alone escaped, and as that was a long way off in the hills, it was decided to leave it; the treacherous natives had already been so severely punished that they would not readily forget the lesson they had received for their cold-blooded murder of poor Kirkpatrick and his men. The bodies of all who had perished were recovered and buried, and before leaving, the remains of all were accorded, as a last mark of

respect, a military funeral, so far as lay in the power of the punitive column.

It is by no means unlikely that the natives of Nakwai had been incited to this act of treachery through the influence brought to bear upon them by the Uganda mutineers. Nakwai is an outlying district of Lobor, said to be occupied by either the Umiro tribe or one closely allied to them, who are generally known as Wakedi. These natives, as has been previously stated, were on friendly terms with the mutineers, and it is more than probable that the latter had circulated stories against Europeans amongst the neighbouring tribes, with a view to enlisting their sympathies, and for the purpose of obtaining their assistance in keeping all Europeans at a safe distance from their place of retreat.

On August 3, 1898, a party of Swahili traders had returned to Manimani from Nakwai after purchasing food from the natives, who were perfectly friendly. This was their second visit to that district. One of these traders had accompanied Kirkpatrick, with whom he perished. These natives, therefore, had changed between August and November from friends to treacherous enemies. They had no cause of complaint personally against Europeans, as they had not before been visited, and the column everywhere had entertained most friendly relations with all tribes previously met with since leaving Save. The mutineers had been driven into the midst of the tribe with which the people of Nakwai were connected. Kabarega himself was also a refugee with the mutineers, and it is possible that, on hearing of the operations of the column in Karamojo, he may have feared being attacked in rear, and had therefore instructed all the tribes round about to keep Europeans out of their country at all costs.

Poor Kirkpatrick's death was a great blow to us all, with whom he was so deservedly popular, and I cannot do better than quote Macdonald's own words on describing

his loss: 'Captain Kirkpatrick's death was most severely felt by us all, as he was closely and intimately connected with us for many months, and in very critical circumstances, which proved his sterling worth and character. I had repeatedly occasion to mention his name for distinguished and successful services, and the sorrow of myself and staff at losing such a tried and trusted comrade was increased by the deplorable circumstances under which he met his death.'

On December 1 the punitive force commenced its return journey to Bukora, and reached the entrenched camp on the bank of the Akinyo the following day, to find all well with the garrison left at that place. On December 3 Tracy and I arrived at the camp from Save, with some Sikhs, Sudanese and Swahilis, numbering in all 110 rifles and a Maxim. The same day about forty gigantic chiefs of the Karamojo people, ranging from 6 feet 2 inches to about 6 feet 6 inches in height, visited the camp in a body to assure Macdonald of their lasting friendship, as he was about to leave their country. They were evidently much impressed by the rapid punishment inflicted on the Nakwai people, and also at the unexpected appearance of the reinforcements, of whose approach they had been in ignorance.

On first receiving intelligence of the treachery of the Nakwai natives, Macdonald had written to the Commissioner of Uganda, asking for a company of troops to be sent as a precautionary measure to Save, as he did not know to what extent he might be involved with the Nakwai people in the event of their possibly receiving active assistance from the mutineers. Fortunately, the success of his expedition against the Nakwai people rendered this despatch of troops unnecessary, as Uganda itself was then in the midst of renewed troubles with the mutineers, who had taken the offensive, and crossed back again into Uganda. Macdonald also wrote to me, and as I was at the time on my way to

Bukora to try and obtain some information of the Headquarters, the runners had been met with a few marches from Bukora, and Tracy and I had consequently hastened forward with all speed.

The united columns now commenced the return journey to Save. Manimani was reached on December 5, and here I gave my men a rest, and followed one day behind Headquarters, who reached the lower Save boma on December 12 by marching straight across from Dabasien along the shorter route, which was now dry.

This, I fear, is only a very short and bald outline of the doings of the Headquarter Column, who experienced such difficulties and so much anxiety regarding the uncertainty of what the mutineers might attempt, to which also was added the possibility of trouble with the Sudanese in Latuka, if not an encounter with the Dervishes themselves. Much new and unknown country had been successfully explored and mapped, thus adding greatly to the previous imperfect geographical knowledge of the regions traversed. Loggouren and Tarangole were the only places which had before been visited by white men from the Nile; but the districts lying between Save and those places were unknown to geography until mapped by Macdonald. The geographical results of his exploratory work have already been to some extent laid before the Royal Geographical Society, so it is unnecessary for me to enumerate the new physical features discovered by him.

I must now ask the reader to accompany my column in our travels to the north of Lake Rudolf.

CHAPTER XII

SAVE TO LAKE RUDOLF WITH THE RUDOLF COLUMN

BEFORE leaving the lower Save boma for Ngaboto, owing to the paucity of transport at my disposal, it was found necessary to establish a small food depot three marches on ahead. With this object some fifty loads of flour were despatched on July 26 to a point agreed upon, and, a guard being left with it, the remainder of the men returned by double marches to Save, where they arrived on the 30th. The next day was spent in making final preparations for the start, and on August 1 Ferguson and I commenced the journey to Ngaboto.

The start, as usual, was full of incident—it always is after a long halt. Anticipating trouble with our fresh Karamojo donkeys, 'Reveille' went at 4 a.m., and loading up and striking of camp was at once begun. Some of the donkeys were quiet enough, and placidly allowed their loads and saddles to be placed on their backs, and then proceeded to browse until we were ready to start. Others refused even to allow themselves to be caught inside their enclosure —surrounded by a thorn fence—threw 4-feet 'leps' in the most approved fashion over the zeriba, and careered away across country. Others, again, when loaded, fairly skimmed over the ground, treating the 130-pound loads on their backs as though they were mere napkins. Away they went at headlong speed, kicking and plunging in all directions, until they had either successfully freed themselves of their loads or were brought up short against a more sedate com-

panion amongst the herd ; or, again, had so hopelessly tied themselves up into knots with loads and saddle that any further efforts on their part threatened to result in a broken neck. That sobered them, and I reflected, with some gratification, that they would be a bit more sobered still before they had seen the job through. One does not appreciate donkey stalking at that hour of the morning, however satisfied one may have felt at the extraordinary energy displayed by one's humble four-footed carriers. These proceedings generally terminate sooner or later, and we were really off by 6.30 a.m., reaching our old camping-ground on the Mugoret stream some four or five hours later, in spite of having two swollen streams to cross.

Next day we reached the Kisimchanga River, which, as well as the Lukom, a stream met shortly before it, was in heavy flood, and we had great difficulty with the camels and donkeys. We now left our old track of the previous year, and struck north-east to the food depot, which had been formed on the bank of a stream. During the march we fell in with a party conducting thirty-five donkeys, which were being sent back from Ngaboto to Save by Tracy. Their arrival was most opportune, as now, instead of loading the men up with eight days' rations, as I had intended, I was able to issue less and carry the balance stored on these donkeys. In his letter Tracy informed me that he still had 250 loads of food at Ngaboto, and that Bright had recently been south to Marich and brought up the steel boat, which had been placed under the care of the Wa-Suk at that place when the post had been withdrawn. We had now reached firm gravelly soil along the foot of a low rocky ridge, from which conical peaks spring at intervals, and which forms the water-parting between streams flowing into Lake Rudolf and those which join the Nile. We still continued in a north-easterly direction next day near the ridge, traversing undulating grass country fairly thickly covered with

Major H. H. Austin, C.M.G., D.S.O.

thorn-bush—an ideal game country, as traces of elephants, rhinos, and antelopes were frequently seen. Ferguson and I saw no game, but the rear-guard and the donkeys tumbled across four elephants, one of whom picked up a wretched donkey, load and all, and quietly heaved it away on one side into the bush. The poor little beast showed no external marks of violence to speak of, but he would not eat on arrival in camp, and died shortly after.

We lost one of our Somalis also on this day—an excellent man with the camels—who succumbed to pneumonia after a short illness. On August 5 we rounded the ridge along which we had proceeded, and the following day marched to the river Turkwel, which had to be forded. The river was about twenty-five yards wide and waist deep, so all the donkeys had to be unloaded, and their burdens transported to the opposite bank by the porters. A curious low ridge, surmounted by nine small cones, had to be crossed before the river was reached, and in parts the ground is broken by dry water-courses. For the next few days we adhered closely to the river, traversing thorny tracts and bush, and crossing numerous khors which join the river; this was again crossed on the 8th, not far from a striking peak, which is visible from miles around. We now entered the Suk Hills again, and here the river indulges in some serpentine bends of some magnitude, in a narrow valley confined by high hills; so on the 9th we cut off a big bend, at the end of which we again had to ford the river.

We had now reached a point beyond which it was impossible to follow the river any longer, as it enters a precipitous gorge in the hills, before emerging again on to the plains lying between the mountains and Ngaboto. We were compelled, therefore, on the 10th to cross the mountain range with which we were now confronted, known as the Chemorongi Mountains, by means of a villainous pass. Leaving camp, we at once began climbing over rough rocky ground

away from the river, and after some two and a half miles of this struck a large nullah bed which joins the river just before it enters the gorge. We now followed up this valley for the next three miles between high ridges, and then commenced an exceedingly rocky, steep, and difficult ascent of about 600 feet to reach the summit of the pass. We had, fortunately, taken the precaution beforehand to lead the camels up unloaded, and when all the porters had arrived at the top they deposited their loads, and returned to assist with the donkeys. Consequently, it was 1 p.m. before the animals and their loads were at the head of the pass. We now hoped that the main difficulty had been overcome; but the descent proved nothing short of execrable, as numerous rocky ledges and steps had to be negotiated near the summit. We had only six miles further to proceed before reaching the camping-ground in a valley some 1,400 feet below; but the last of our animals were not in before darkness had overtaken us, and we had been fourteen hours on the road. We camped near the mouth of a large valley on the bank of a delightful stream, above which towered splendid cliffs and pinnacles of sheer rock. Getting clear of the hills early next morning, we struck in a northerly direction across a plain thickly wooded with thorn and aloe to the Weiwei River. Here we were met by men sent from the Ngaboto post to assist us in fording the river, which was some 40 yards wide and 3 feet deep, as I had sent runners to acquaint Tracy of my arrival.

Two miles from the ford we reached the stockaded post which had been Bright's and Tracy's home for the last five weeks. Tracy still had some 200 loads of flour left and about 115 cows and oxen, which were in grand condition. He was to return at once to Save and Karamojo to purchase fresh transport animals, and form a relief column to bring on food to meet the Rudolf Column on its return from the north of the lake, in addition to establishing a mail service

at the base. For this object he was to take the majority of the cows and a certain number of bullocks, which are very highly prized by the Karamojo people, and are by far the best form of trade goods for purchasing live-stock and even grain. The remainder of the oxen—seventy-eight—were to accompany the Rudolf Column. Owing to the extremely unhealthy nature of the country about the post, which was surrounded by a forest growth of trees and long, rank vegetation, both the officers at Ngaboto had suffered considerably from fever during their residence at this place. The native hospital assistant and a large number of the men had also from time to time been incapacitated by sickness, so no one was sorry to leave Ngaboto.

It was found impossible to take on the steel boat for want of transport, so it was decided to leave it in the post under charge of the Turkana. The chief, Lomathimyai, was sent for, and made blood-brotherhood with me, agreeing to look after the boat, for which he was to receive a present of a bullock on our return if all was well with it. Tracy left for Save on August 14, accompanied by fifty Swahilis, some Masai, and eighteen Sudnease, and drew sufficient food from the store for the journey. He received full written instructions from me, in which I asked him to start to meet us not later than October 10, if possible, from Save, with his relief column, as I anticipated considerable difficulty in getting back from the north of Lake Rudolf. My transport only enabled me to carry some thirty-seven days' supply of food, by which time I hoped to reach the food-producing districts reported to exist on the Omo.

The day before leaving Ngaboto all the men of the Rudolf Column were served out with ten days' rations, which they had to carry in addition to their loads, for we were only able to carry on the animals sixty-two boxes of reserve rations and fifty-six loads of flour. As the column now numbered 180 strong, it required, on full-scale rations, from five to six

loads a day. In addition to the 87 porters for transport, some 90 donkeys and 14 camels were also available, whilst for commissariat purposes we were accompanied by 78 oxen and 50 goats and sheep. A few milch cows and calves were taken for the benefit of the column, and also as presents for the more important native chiefs we might have dealings with. The old Suk guide, Nyanga, accompanied the column as interpreter, and also to act as guide through the country we were now about to penetrate.

The afternoon before we commenced our journey, Lomathimyai and some other Turkana came round to have everything pointed out to them that we intended to leave in the post under their charge, and brought us a small present of unground grain. They were fine big men physically, their head-dress being very similar to that of the Suk previously described, and they were equally naked, with practically no ornaments beyond a few strings of beads round the neck. We now saw for the first time the circular wrist-knife worn as a bracelet. The blade projects all round the wrist, and is generally about 1½ inches in width, with razor-like edges, which in peace time are sheathed in a narrow leather covering. Long-handled spears with small blades, wicker or hide oblong shields, and a small curved stool cut out of wood, also used as a pillow, with perhaps a small horn snuff-box in addition, are the usual travelling accompaniments of these natives. I have never seen Turkana carry food on the march.

We started on our northerly journey on the morning of August 15, 1898, and during that day followed a broad open track, keeping close to the Weiwei River, which was joined by the Turkwel some seven or eight miles north of our post, close to a low isolated hill on the right bank, which we skirted. The whole country was covered with thorn-bush, except for an occasional glade or clearing. The soil, sandy and stony, offered no facilities for cultiva-

tion, but a few small plots of ground with standing green crops were seen near the river banks. Although for the first seven miles natives were seen in numbers, none of their settlements were visible, being concealed amongst the thorn-bush; receptacles for honey and several granaries, perched up in large forked branches of trees, were, however, passed. The natives were fine athletic-looking men, with hard, firm muscles, and many of them wore brass ornaments through the nose and ears; the former, long, flat, oval-shaped discs, in some cases hung completely over the mouth. Taking them all round, they have extremely fine faces and a commanding presence, more especially the younger men; but they are not trustworthy, and I love not the gentle Turkana for reasons which will be subsequently apparent. Dogs of the Indian pariah type enter very largely into the home life of these natives. They are excellent for watch purposes, and always accompany the warriors when they are out on the trail.

Next day we still continued north, but saw nothing of the river from the start until we went down to it again to camp, which we did through thick growth and tall forest trees. Our donkeys caused considerable trouble, and during the march six precious loads of food were lost, as well as the three donkeys carrying them, and we were never able to find them again. We generally left the river at once, and proceeded along more open country away from the banks, along which the dense vegetation and tall forest growth rendered progress nearly impossible. When about time to camp we would be taken by Nyanga down to the river again. In addition to travelling with less difficulty in this way, I was able also to obtain a far better view of the surrounding country whilst surveying, so could fix positions of hills which were often quite shut out when down by the river. On August 17 we did not camp on the river at all, as we struck a small pool in a nullah bed, known as the Doroto,

some distance from the Turkwel. Game at times must be very abundant about here, and on the 18th, during the march, Ferguson, on advanced guard, saw oryx, eland, an antelope like a Grantii, and impalah, whilst giraffe spoor were also common.

Since leaving our first camp on the Turkwel we had seen no natives, as at the time we were moving north all this district was uninhabited. The thorn growth in parts is very thick and the ground broken by many water-courses, some of considerable size. We had several long and trying experiences in getting down to the river at the close of marches, owing to the thick vegetation which had to be penetrated, and were always much delayed getting out again next morning into the more open country. The result was that the men in charge of the donkeys succeeded in losing some sixteen loads more of reserve rations, which were never recovered, in spite of long and exhaustive search, and this deficiency in our food-supply was later very much felt. We halted on August 21 to give men and animals a rest, and were compelled to shoot one of the camels, which was unable to travel, owing to a badly-inflamed foot, his flesh being served out as a meat ration to the men. The following day, for the first time in my experience, we saw elephants. I had now travelled in 1891-1892, and during the present expedition, close on 5,000 miles in Africa before I was destined to see any of these grand beasts, although scores of times had I seen recent traces of them before. Bright, Ferguson, and I went after four of them whilst camp was being pitched, as they were not more than 600 or 700 yards away on the opposite bank of the river, and although we succeeded in getting within 70 or 80 yards of them before firing, they disappeared into the dense forest growth, where it was quite impossible to follow them, as the river at that point was unfordable.

On the sandy spits of the Turkwel we used to have very

fair sport just before dark, when large numbers of sand-grouse would come down to drink. Guinea-fowls were also numerous, so we generally kept the mess going with out drawing to any large extent on our goats and sheep, which were generally reserved for the Sikhs, who, of course, regarded the oxen as forbidden meat. It was often difficult, in consequence, to prevent these latter 'hammering' the senseless Swahilis, who, in spite of oft-repeated orders that they were not to let the Sikhs see them carry ox meat about, were constantly outraging the susceptibilities of our Sepoys.

At the termination of the next day's march we crossed a low neck between two isolated hills, known as the Kalnalechikal Hills, and camped on the river bank again after it makes a sharp turn round the more western of these hills. Again during the march we saw some magnificent elephants feeding amongst a dense growth of dwarf palms down on the lower ground near the river. I think, perhaps, what strikes one most on first seeing an African elephant, after its tusks, is the enormous size of its ears, which are being constantly flapped to and fro whilst he is browsing and thinking. At a distance, if he is facing you, it appears almost as if about half the body of the beast was suddenly and violently detached from the other half and swung forward on a huge hinge, and then as suddenly jerked back again to its former position. That's what it seemed like to me at first. I don't know whether it has struck others in a similar light.

We had reached the outskirts of the Ngamatak district on August 22, but saw no natives until the 24th, on which day we crossed the Turkwel at the termination of the march. Shortly before making for the river we came upon herds of donkeys, splendid camels, and large numbers of goats and sheep, but no natives. When we had pitched camp, however, on the left bank, many Turkana visited us, seemingly little afraid of the strange white men, as they were accom-

panied by some twenty women and maidens, the latter being far from uncomely to look upon, in spite of the liberal application of fat rubbed into their skins, which gave them an extremely glistening appearance. The men in general are very similar to the Ngaboto natives, and cultivate the same form of head-dress as the Suk. Many of them wear a seemingly solid necklet, fitting close to the throat, formed by from six to a dozen coils of iron wire, with bracelets of the same material, in addition to the circular knife. Round their waist they wear a species of skin apron, 4 to 6 inches wide behind, and fastening in front across the stomach, where it is not more than 2 inches wide. This is often embroidered with vari-coloured beads, and the edges adorned with small iron beads of native manufacture. The younger bloods do not wear the long bag-shaped arrangement of the elders, their chignon being bun-shaped, scarcely pendent at all, into which are stuck ostrich feathers of different hues. Several of them had dyed their faces a pinkish colour with clay, whether to preserve their complexion by protecting the skin from the sun, or to increase their ferocity of mien, is perhaps best known to themselves. The women are decently clad in a skin, in the form of a long apron cut away in front to give their legs free play in walking, but hanging almost down to the ground behind, and ending in more or less of a point. This is embroidered in a similar, though far more elaborate, manner to that of the men. Beads are worn in great numbers by the ladies (hanging from the neck), whilst brass and iron bracelets and earrings of the same material are also commonly seen. The hair is worked, like that of the Sudanese women, into straight ringlets, falling all round the head.

We found these Turkana extraordinarily fond of native Kikuyu tobacco, which they chew incessantly when they can get it—the more pungent it is the better it satisfies their vitiated tastes. We managed to buy a sheep for a couple

of handfuls of tobacco, but that was a very large price. We wanted to start trade, however, for the purpose of purchasing some transport animals. They had traded before with Swahili caravans, and knew a thing or two. They brought a sick camel, for which they wanted a cow. Pass. Then they tried three donkeys for a cow—we could get from six to ten in Karamojo. Pass again, and trade ceased for the present. We evidently did not quite understand each other's value placed on goods offered.

The Turkana who inhabit this region are essentially a pastoral people, and do not in any way attempt to cultivate the arid soil, which is incapable of producing any crops. They have no recognised or permanent settlements, and merely move from place to place with their flocks and herds, to take advantage of the grazing. When that is exhausted they move on to another place, and so on. In default of grain, they live largely on their goats, sheep, camels, and donkeys, slaughtering the males for food, but reserving the females for breeding purposes, and also for their milk, large quantities of which are consumed by men, women, and children.

On August 25 we only made a short march of eight miles from our previous camp, and reached the northern limit of the Turkwel at a point whence it changes its course and flows almost due east towards Lake Rudolf. We had seen hundreds upon hundreds of goats and sheep, as a large colony of Turkana was settled at the foot of some hills six or seven miles north in the district of Kagwalas. Much to my surprise, the ten days' issue of food made at Ngaboto had lasted the full period for which it was intended, the usually improvident Swahilis apparently recognising the fact that on this journey it behoved them to carefully control their appetites. I had given them occasional issues of meat, and now decided to put the men in future on two-thirds ration of flour, supplemented by meat, to spin out our stock of flour

as long as possible. Four days' issue of flour was therefore made all round, and the men informed that this would have to last six, whilst on the third and sixth days meat in addition would be issued.

A good many natives visited camp during the day, when we purchased from them a few goats and sheep and some camel's milk. Since leaving Ngaboto we had been steadily descending, and the heat, daily increasing, had now become very great. Seated in one's tent, great beads of perspiration poured off one from every pore. Nyanga was very anxious to take us a short-cut across country to reach the western shores of the lake, which he said would save many days (in reaching the same point on the lake), on the other alternative of following the Turkwel east, and then striking north along the lake shores. He had ascertained from the Turkana that water could still be obtained at certain intervals, by the desert route he advocated, on digging in the sandy beds of the nullahs we should from time to time come across. At the same time I gathered that men and animals would experience considerable hardship during the six or seven days we were in the desert, on account of the great heat, scanty grazing, and deficient water-supply. Time being a matter of the greatest importance, however, I decided to take the desert route in accordance with Nyanga's wishes. We started off, therefore, on the 26th, and struck across country in a northerly direction, making a long and trying march of fifteen miles through a howling desert of sand, camel scrub, stones, and thin, burnt-up grass. Two and a half miles from the Turkwel we crossed the Kagwalas stream (now dry except for occasional pools), passing between rocky outcrops on the plain before reaching it. We then ascended a pass between two prominent conical peaks, the more western of which—Songot by name—had been a landmark for several days previously, and continued along the base of low, irregular hills, the ground falling gradually away

towards the Turkwel. The distant course of the river was marked by a thick broad belt of trees and vegetation. Several dry stony water-courses were crossed, and though large droves of camels were seen grazing on the miserable scrub, the country was parched and dried up. Soon all signs of life were left behind, and after mid-day the heat became most trying, as we proceeded over sandy soil devoid of all vegetation, and the want of water was very severely felt by all. Ultimately, late in the afternoon, we reached a dry water-course, in the sandy bed of which the eager porters commenced to dig with the greatest vigour. Water was found not far below the surface, so camp was at once pitched. Owing, however, to our late arrival, and the meagre supply both of water and grass, our unfortunate transport animals fared very badly.

Continuing next day, some five miles from the start we reached the bed of a large nullah fringed with trees, where water was obtainable. It was to this place Nyanga had intended to bring us the previous day. The name of this water-course is Ngololomoragwet; to try to utter this at the end of a twenty-mile march, parched with thirst, would probably have injured us, so it was perhaps as well we had broken the journey at the Lobiyai nullah. We did not stop here, but pursued our northerly course another five and a half miles over perfectly open sandy country until we reached broken ground near low, irregular hills, and arrived near the junction of two fine large sandy water-courses, both banks of which were fringed with palms and other trees—a refreshing sight in the midst of this abomination of desolation. Water was obtained on digging, so camp was pitched, and here we halted for our weekly rest next day.

We came across one solitary Turkana during the march, who saluted our guide Nyanga in a somewhat extraordinary manner. Picking up a handful of sand and gravel, he first of all spat on it for luck, and then threw it with full force

at our guide, accompanying the act with the usual salutation of 'Mātā mātā!' This *mata* business is repeated several times by both parties, after which the novelty of the position wears off, and conversation opens on other topics, such as the weather, crops, water-supply, and so forth. At times the rainfall must be exceedingly heavy to the west, judging by the size of some of these dry water-courses, which drain those mountains. One of my headmen—Ngara—told me that the last time he had been on the Kobua—the stream we were now camped on—there was a big volume of water waist-deep flowing towards Lake Rudolf at a time when he had to dig for water in the Turkwel; therefore the rainy season is evidently at a different period to that prevalent on Mount Elgon.

The scarcity of grass and the difficulty of watering the animals afforded a constant source of anxiety. We tried making rough tanks with tarpaulins, which were filled from the wells we had dug, for the benefit of the cattle, goats and sheep, and donkeys. It was an almighty struggle to keep these animals back when they smelt the water, as they would rush headlong into these primitive tanks, and in a short time the tarpaulin would be torn to shreds by their frantic efforts to get at the water, which, of course, disappeared at once into the sand. Sticks were of no use, and I doubt whether Maxims would have kept the wretched brutes back in their frenzied state.

I may perhaps have mentioned the partiality of the Suk and Turkana for tobacco, snuff, and so on, but I have never met anyone to beat our old guide Nyanga. I may perhaps be thought to be exaggerating, but it is nevertheless a fact that he would take cayenne pepper as snuff with the greatest possible relish! Whenever he felt a bit heady or out of sorts he would ask for this medicine, as it always cleared his brain, he said. I have seen him pick up the butt end of a cigar, on the rare occasions when we may have smoked one,

and proceed to smoke it through his nose with the utmost satisfaction. What reminds me of this fact is that I had cause to interview him during our halt at Kobua to obtain information regarding the country still ahead of us before we should reach the lake, and during this interview he took cayenne pepper and tackled a cheroot end in the manner I have mentioned.

We continued our tramp across the desert on August 29, and spent the whole day traversing a most inhospitable waste amongst low, barren, stony hills, the ground being intersected in all directions by numbers of small water-courses. Five miles from the Kobua we reached the rocky bed of the Lugurmeri stream. We found several rock pools of water, in which, fortunately, we were able to let our wretched transport animals have a drink. The afternoon was drawing to a close before we again struck a broad nullah. The banks were clothed in the pretty fan-palms, which generally seem to denote the presence of water near the surface, and we were soon digging for all we were worth in search of the precious liquid, as the heat had been dreadful. We followed this nullah for the first four miles the next day through broken ground, and then, leaving it, worked across rough country until we reached another big nullah, where we had great difficulty in obtaining a camping-ground, owing to the rocky nature of the banks.

We now knew that we should reach the lake shores next day, and we hoped for better things, as our transport animals were suffering very greatly from want of sufficient grazing. We only had sixty donkeys and nine camels left, as two of the latter were lost on this day through the carelessness of the Somalis on grazing guard. They had been driven away, apparently, by Turkana, who had seized the opportunity of these two straying away from the remainder of the herd. The survivors were so thin and emaciated that there seemed little prospect of their picking up again even

should the grazing on the lake shore prove abundant. The scarcity and anxiety regarding water had told on all, which, added to the great heat at this time of the year, made one long to see and be near the great sheet of water which was our goal. In spite of all hardships, the men had surpassed themselves, and seldom, perhaps, has traveller been better served than we were by these Swahilis, who had already played a no mean part in maintaining British prestige in Uganda. They were the survival of the fittest, and a hardier and more cheery set of men have never accompanied me. Amidst all their trials they had exhibited the most splendid fortitude, and daily had they doggedly tramped along with their loads in the direction of the great lake which was now reported to be so close.

At last their dream was to be realized, for early on August 31, through a gap in the hills, we saw the waters of the lake shimmering in the morning sunlight. We soon had worked our way through the coast hills, and there before us lay this grand expanse of water, with no visible horizon north, south, or east. The sight raised a lusty cheer of 'Lip, lip, ray,' from the exhausted men, who anticipated a gorgeous drink once we reached the water's edge. We were still separated, however, from its margin by a plain five to seven miles wide, and it was not until mid-day, therefore, that we reached a point where a large nullah joined an inland lagoon of the lake, and here we camped on an open grassy plot of ground amidst many palms. A stiff breeze was now blowing, and the surface of the lake was broken by many white-crested waves.

There were several large kraals close to camp, and a small plot of cultivation on a patch of alluvial soil, and we were visited by a fair number of Turkana shortly after our arrival. I informed the elders of the theft of our two camels the previous evening (which they promised to get back for us), and told them that we had come as friends, and were anxious to

trade with them for the purchase of camels, donkeys, sheep, etc. They replied that on the morrow we should have all we wanted. At the same time, however, they promptly proceeded to cut down their standing crops, which they removed that night, and during the remainder of the journey north along the lake shore they avoided us like the plague, and we could never get in touch with them.

It was full moon that night, and, sitting outside our tents looking across the lake, one felt at peace with all mankind. It was good to see so much water again after all the barren waste we had lately been traversing. I had often longed to see Lake Rudolf, and my desire was now fulfilled. Since then I have had some bitter memories connected with that inland ocean, and should I be fated never again to behold those inhospitable shores, I bow my head in all humility to the inevitable.

CHAPTER XIII

ALONG THE WESTERN SHORES OF RUDOLF

As our first camp on the lake was not a satisfactory one to halt at, we proceeded some two to three miles north next day along the shore, and camped near another lagoon, frequented by many species of water-birds, such as geese, duck, pelicans, flamingoes, and others, which afforded us plenty of sport, and supplied a very welcome addition to our mess, as half-starved, over-driven goat is not particularly appetizing. At this time we found the waters of the lake by no means undrinkable, although impregnated with sodium, which gave it rather a mawkish taste. It had a decidedly slippery feeling when tubbing in it, and it was difficult to get soap to lather readily. Some three years later, when again travelling along the western shores of Rudolf, we found the water perfectly nauseating, and there was no getting away from that disagreeable taste, which pervaded everything—soup, tea, coffee, pudding, and even meat. This was possibly due to the fact that the previous year the mighty Omo, which is the sole perennial feeder of this great reservoir, had run completely dry, owing to the great drought of rain, and the lake, in consequence, had been ill supplied with fresh water from the Abyssinian highlands.

The Turkana who had promised to bring in transport animals and goats and sheep for sale the previous evening never put in an appearance; and as we moved north along the lake, we passed many recently deserted kraals, the occupants of which had driven their animals away to the hills to the west, returning, presumably, after we had left. The

transport question, therefore, was causing me considerable anxiety, for the grazing along the lake shores was meagre in the extreme, and our wretched animals were never able to pick up after the rough time they had experienced when crossing the desert, and continued to die off at an alarming rate. Food was reported by our Swahilis, who had previously visited the Omo, to be plentiful in the Murle district; but they stated that no donkeys could be bought there, and that once we left Turkana country we should be unable to obtain transport animals elsewhere. The continual avoidance of the column, therefore, by these natives was a matter of great regret, for, seemingly, if we found the food in the quantities described, we should have no means of carrying it along with the force on its return journey, and our position would be a most embarrassing one.

On September 3 we continued the northerly march, and, keeping close to the lake shores, passed a continuous series of small lagoons before we reached and camped on an open plot of ground near the dry bed of the Gosiale stream. We were now nearly due west of a rocky island out in the centre of the lake, which had every appearance of being of volcanic origin, its loftiest point being about 450 feet above the level of the lake. We were fortunate in being able to procure a little fresh water from the nullah bed near the surface, which was far preferable to the water obtained from the lake. The men indulged in fishing, and caught some fine big fellows of the cat-fish tribe, which ran from 8 to 10 pounds in weight; but none of them ever ventured to take a dip in the ocean, which is infested with crocodiles. During the earlier hours of the morning a strong breeze from a south-easterly direction invariably blew across the lake, causing a heavy, choppy sea to rise. At mid-day, however, this generally fell, until by night the surface of the lake had become like glass. Then it was that we would see these hideous reptiles, quietly swimming about with their snouts

and heads above water, waiting to seize some unwary fish. After the wind dropped the heat became very great, and day and night one simply poured with perspiration. During this period was one of the few occasions in Africa that I have ever experienced anything to at all resemble the Indian hot-weather night. The consequence was that an ordinary ten or eleven mile march took more out of men and animals in this climate than one nearly double that length in a more bracing atmosphere.

On September 5 we reached a point on the lake shore near the base of a small peninsula, which consists of a sand spit running in a northerly direction out into the lake. Here we found that the water of the lake had changed its colour from its former beautiful blue to a somewhat dirty sandy one, due evidently to the fact that the area of the lake hereabouts is more affected by the large volume of muddy water poured into it by the Omo than it is further south. Next day we traversed the heel of the peninsula in a north-westerly direction, away from the lake, and reached the shores again, after marching some six miles, at the southern extremity of a large gulf enclosed by the sand spit previously mentioned, and a large promontory which runs out into the lake in a southerly direction from the north end of Rudolf. We were now near the foot of Mount Lubur, an extinct volcano, which approaches here very closely to the margin of the lake. The base of that conspicuous landmark is only separated from the water by a narrow plain, perhaps a mile in width, whereas the coast hills further south were generally five to six miles, if not more, distant from the lake. The highest point of Mount Lubur I calculated to be about 3,000 feet above the level of the lake, and it certainly is a most striking hill. The rugged rim of the old crater terminates to the east in a rock cap, perhaps 600 to 1,000 feet of sheer precipice, whilst the steep lower slopes are furrowed and seamed to an astonishing degree.

We were now approaching the northern border of Turkana, and had been unable to persuade any of the natives to approach us. We frequently heard most weird and extraordinary blasts of horns from the hills, which perhaps were intended as warning notes to the natives on ahead that we were approaching, and for all animals to be driven away before our arrival. We proceeded along the lake, and between it and long low spurs of Lubur, which extended some miles to the north, broken here and there by conical peaks, and halted on the bank of the Leterria water-course, near their termination. We then pushed on again, but had only marched some two or three miles further when Bright and I espied some donkey heads just above the bank of a nullah close to the lake shore. There were no natives about, and transport animals I must have, so gave the order to round up these and drive them along. They proved to be an excellent herd of about 130 fine strong animals, of which at least 100 would be capable of carrying loads. It was one of the most fortunate finds we could possibly have made, as ours were being sadly reduced daily, and the transport question I now hoped was solved. Many of the animals were females, whose noses were pierced with rope, the ends being secured to a forked stick—presumably for the purpose of holding on to the animal when being milked.

We now crossed the Turkana border, and three miles further on reached a flourishing little colony of natives settled on the bank of a stream, where they had grown a large quantity of grain on the alluvial soil. We were now in the Marle district, and found these natives most friendly. Instead of bolting, they quietly remained in their fields, frightening the birds away, from platforms erected for that purpose. When camp was pitched they trooped in in numbers, bringing ears of nearly ripe grain and milk as presents for us. From what I could gather they said they had formerly lived at the base of Mount Nakua, but, being

harassed by the Abyssinians, had fled and settled down here recently near the borders of Turkana. One of the elders, as a sign of friendship, came up to me and swore that none of his people would steal from us, and to make the oath binding (apparently), spat generously into his paw and grasped a long rod with it; he then handed the rod over for me to hold. I'm not proud, but—well, I avoided his point of grip! We gave them presents of tobacco, and made a treaty of friendship with the head of the colony, who provided us with a guide to accompany us next day.

We left Komogul—the name of this settlement—the following morning, but had to proceed some way up the stream on which we had camped in order to find a suitable crossing. Water only existed in pools; but the banks, clothed in fine trees, were so precipitous that it was some time before a sufficiently easy slope was met with. The caravan over, we traversed an open grassy plain devoid of any trees, and there seemed little prospect of obtaining firewood. At length, after marching some seven miles, we observed two trees about a mile on, and, making for them, camped. Plots of nearly ripe corn were standing on a large area of alluvial soil, and for the first time since leaving the Turkwel there was plenty of grazing for our animals. We had reached the settlement of Lumian, and here, too, were Marle natives in numbers, who brought in presents of ears of grain which were nearly ripe.

As the natives were so friendly and the grazing abundant, I decided to halt on September 9 to give our animals every chance; but the original donkeys were so reduced in numbers that barely thirty capable of carrying loads were left. In spite of the losses, however, we had been able to carry along all our loads, as the food was rapidly being consumed; this daily freed donkeys, who seized the opportunity thus offered them of quitting this sphere, as they apparently little relished the prospect of carrying food on the return

CAPTAIN W. F. B. R. DUGMORE, D.S.O.

journey, and preferred death. There was none of that turbulent spirit left now which they had displayed to such an extent at Save six weeks before. However, there was still that grand herd of Turkana donkeys to fall back upon, so my mind was eased of great anxiety on the score of transport for our return.

During our halt on September 9 the Marle natives brought us a present of three splendid fat-tailed sheep with prominent dewlaps—the species common to these regions—and also more ears of corn, for which they received suitable returns in beads and Kikuyu tobacco. They made the usual request for rain medicine, and certainly the country was in need of it, judging by the arid and parched-up appearance of the plain. Unfortunately, amongst his medical stores Ferguson had forgotten to bring anything out from England that would answer, and we had no artillery. We got along very well without, though, and the natives, now trusting our friendly intentions, sent messengers on ahead saying that we were a peaceful, law-abiding caravan, and that no fear need be entertained towards us. Their own flocks they brought back to the grazing-grounds near camp, and all day long they wandered about amongst our men selling ears of corn, and never once did they try to steal anything.

The collection of huts round about were the most primitive erections, and, like those of the Turkana, little more than sun shelters. Whilst those of the latter, however, were merely branches of thorn, these here were constructed of grain stalks, and perhaps 6 feet in height, with low entrances. The natives were somewhat poverty-stricken in appearance, the men quite naked, and a few only cultivating the Suk and Turkana form of head-dress. It was generally either fuzzed up or worn in a small chignon with a few ostrich feathers stuck into it. Ornaments are few, and consist only of iron chain bracelets, beads of sorts round the neck, and brass and glass bead ornaments round the rims of the ears.

The women wear a hide over the lower part of the body, but only a few the apron of the Turkana. Their hair is worked into ringlets, like the Sudanese, which seems almost the universal pattern in this part of the world. Primitive spears, wicker-work shields, and bows and arrows are the usual weapons of the men. The salutation 'Mātā, mātā!' of the Turkana now gives place to 'Na!' to which the reply is 'Faya!' The usual conversation between two persons when they meet is 'Na,' 'Faya,' 'Na,' 'Faya,' until both are exhausted and out of breath. Then one of them probably says 'Dang!' I thought they said something else—rather like it—at first, and shuddered. Cowrie belts are occasionally worn by some of the ladies, and at Lumian not a few of the men had little bells worn round the leg just below the knee.

The evening before we left Lumian some men arrived from Komogul to warn us that a large force of Turkana had collected on the border near our previous camp, and were coming to attack us during the night and recover their donkeys. This was nothing less than a most infernal nuisance, as it had been quite impossible to construct a boma round the camp, on account of the absence of thorn, and it was as much as we could do to even provide an enclosure for the animals. The chief cause of danger in the event of attack was the probable stampeding of the oxen and donkeys, which would have been an irreparable loss. We did not want that to happen at any cost, so we proceeded to fire off some rockets to put the fear of the white man into the Turkana souls. A picket was placed some distance in advance of the camp in the direction from whence they would probably come, and the men were distributed and made to sleep on their posts (instead of inside their tents) all round the camp. Sentries were doubled everywhere, and Bright, Ferguson, and myself took it in turns to sit up all night, and went round at short intervals to see that the

sentries were all on the alert. I think the rockets had the desired effect, for the Turkana did not come, thanks to the timely notice we had received from our Komogul friends.

We continued our northerly march next day along the lake and reached another small settlement of Marle people at Nongolibe, near the northern extremity of Sanderson Gulf. I had now been able to fix approximately the position of the Lorusia Mountains away to the west, across an open plain. We had reached a belt of trees again which extended in a westerly direction towards the foot of the hills, and saw other distant ranges to the north-west in addition to Nakua, to which we were now quite close.

We here saw for the first time enormous herds of hartebeeste, different to any we had previously come across in Uganda or East Africa. Their horns turned back slightly, not unlike those of a goat, but, of course, much longer. They were of a very deep brown colour, their flanks and shoulders being marked by almost black patches, a similar marking running down from their heads to their muzzles. These animals were extraordinarily wild, and it was almost impossible to get within a quarter of a mile of them. This was the first time we had seen game since leaving the Turkwel; but a few days later we came across some small gazelle, one of which Bright secured, and which I believe was new to science.

The Nongolibe people had no grain, but they brought us round dried fish for sale. It wasn't necessary to eat it to stave off hunger—the smell quite appeased one's appetite, and a sense of satiation soon spread all over one. The Swahilis, however, seemed to enjoy it; they prefer putrid hippo meat to fresh ox, so one was not surprised. One lives and learns how extremely insular are our ideas when one travels.

On September 11 we rounded the north end of Sanderson Gulf in an easterly direction, and reached a small settlement

known as Amite, at the north-western limit of the gulf. We had been compelled to traverse a swampy area, now fortunately nearly dry, formed by the waters of the Sacchi River, which spills over a large area of country in the rainy season before reaching the lake. Now that I had completed the survey of the gulf, we realized that it was of some magnitude, some thirty-six miles in length and six to seven in width, with only a narrow sound three to four miles wide at the entrance. It was decided, therefore, to call it after some distinguished personage, as hitherto it had received no name, and with the kind permission of the Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs it was named after him. During the period we had followed the gulf shores, the water of which is to a large extent closed to the influence of the fresh supply from the Omo, we had found it most unpleasant to drink, and were pleased therefore at the prospect of shortly reaching the Omo.

Some of the elders of the fishing village brought us four grand sheep as a present, and received tobacco and beads in return for their friendly offering. The Masai language appeared to be understood to a certain extent by these Marle people, several of whom we found spoke it quite fluently. They reported that about a month previously they were raided by bands of horsemen from the north, armed with guns, who had plundered them of nearly all their flocks and then returned north again.

On September 12 we started for the Omo, and marched some twelve miles in a direction slightly north of east across the base of the peninsula which runs into the lake. For the first seven miles we traversed an arid tract of desert, covered for the most part with thorn-bush. After topping some high ground we saw the lake again some four miles to the south of us, whilst away to the east a dense growth of tall trees plainly indicated the presence of the river. For four miles we now continued nearly due east, gradually

approaching the lake shores, which were fringed with papyrus, within a mile of which we arrived before turning in a north-westerly direction again to reach our camping ground near the river. The river was some little distance from our camp, as we avoided the tall trees and rank vegetation near the banks, and pitched our tents on higher and more healthy ground away from it. The Omo at this point was about 150 yards wide, and entered the lake beyond a small peninsula some three to four miles distant from our halting-place. The mosquitoes at sundown were a sore trial, and literally drove us all off to bed in order to escape from their persecutions, which could only be done by getting inside curtains.

We now hoped to reach the food-producing district of Murle (as distinct from Marle) in three marches, as, after issuing a few days' food all round to the men, we had only twelve boxes of reserve rations left (the remainder of our food being consumed), and I was beginning to feel somewhat anxious about the return journey. Next day we traversed very broken ground along the right bank of the river, of which we saw nothing throughout the march until we camped. Now earth-hills and cliffs of chalk were passed, worn away by the action either of heavy rains or by an excessive overflow of the river, whose banks hereabouts are ill-defined as compared with further north. Threading our way through thorn we were fortunate eventually in reaching an open grassy plot close to the river bank, free from trees and vegetation, where we were able to pitch camp. The place was, however, an unholy-looking spot for mosquitoes, but by good luck at sundown a stiff breeze sprung up, which defeated them, and we were left in peace.

On September 14 we rounded the bend of the river, where it flows from east to south, and camped on the edge of a high cliff overlooking the stream. The course of the river is erratic, and we had seen nothing of it after leaving it

in the morning until now. A few natives in dug-out canoes were seen, but they bolted. Later in the afternoon, however, we were visited by others, with whom Nyanga and Ngara entered into conversation. We then ascertained intelligence of a most serious nature to us in our then position—viz., that the Abyssinians had recently devastated the whole of this region, and that we could obtain no food at either Murle or Kerre, the people of whom were starving. As native information is not always of a reliable nature, I decided to continue on the 15th to Murle, which was only some five miles distant, to investigate for ourselves. On arrival we found our gravest fears fully realized. The people *were* starving; many of the men had tight bands fastened across their stomachs to decrease the pangs of hunger, and were living on the roots of grass and other frugal products of the woods. The Abyssinians had done their work thoroughly. They had scoured both banks of the river, carried away all the cattle, goats, and sheep, cut down the crops, burnt the granaries with their stores of food, and taken away captive men, women, and children. The state of those who had escaped was pitiful in the extreme, as, in addition to their starving condition, they were also visited by an outbreak of small-pox. No food, therefore, was procurable here, and as Kerre and the more northerly districts had also been laid waste, it was impossible to proceed further. Tracy would not be leaving Save even to come to our relief for another month. We were forty days distant at least from Save, and only had twelve loads of food left besides the fifty-six oxen, and there were 180 mouths to feed! I have only once been in a tighter corner with regard to food.

There was still one small chance of getting back without serious losses amongst the men. The Sikhs would not eat oxen, but we had forty goats and sheep left for their use. If we could get back to Lumian before the natives had removed

their crops and returned to their homes on the slopes of Lorusia, we might still be able to purchase sufficient from them to enable us to struggle back to Ngaboto, where we hoped to meet Tracy. I decided, therefore, to return at once, and sent Ngara on with a small party of men and trade goods to try and start a market at Lumian. The men were given a day's rest on September 16, and a final issue of food made, which, they were informed—supplemented, as usual, with meat—would be all that they would receive for the next five days at least.

The evening before one of the porters had gone out of camp to draw water and never returned; there is little doubt but that he was seized by a crocodile, for the Omo is simply infested with these reptiles. Now, at the usual evening muster, the night before we commenced our return journey, three more men were were reported as absent. Several days later two of the latter overtook the column in a starving and exhausted condition, but the third was never heard of again. They admitted that they had gone off on a foraging expedition with their rifles, and had scoured the country for miles, but were unable to find food anywhere. The last they had seen of their missing comrade was when he went down to the river to have a drink, whence he never returned, so it is more than likely that he, too, had been carried off by a crocodile.

The return journey was commenced on September 17, when we made a double march back to our former camp of the 13th. We suffered from mosquitoes badly that night, as no wind arose at sundown; but we bagged some snipe—the first time I had shot any in Africa—on the swampy patch near camp. We obtained a little fish at Amite on the 19th for the men and a few fresh ones for ourselves. We were back at Lumian on the 21st, and during the march had the misfortune to get our Turkana donkeys stampeded by a herd of hartebeeste, who galloped past us, and gathered up

the empty donkeys that were being driven along in their rush. Those mokes certainly did travel, and were soon on the horizon. We had an awful hunt after the brutes, but eventually rounded up all but forty, which we never saw again, although parties were sent out to search for them during our halt at Lumian.

Ferguson had pitched camp about a mile and a half from our former one at this place, near the bank of a nullah with pools of fresh water, so Bright and I were glad to find food ready by the time we arrived after our donkey hunt with the rear-guard. Ngara's market near our old camp had only then produced about three and a half bags of unground grain, so a second market was opened in our present camp. By dint of long bargainings, the natives selling mere handfuls of grain at a time in return for beads and tobacco, we had succeeded in obtaining ten loads of food at the two markets by evening, so one day's issue was made all round to the column. We hoped for better luck next day, so continued our markets, and by that evening found ourselves possessed of some forty loads of grain. For one cow we obtained fifty goats and sheep and twelve loads of grain, whilst for three donkeys we purchased eight to nine bags —not a big price, the latter, but grain is better food than donkey. In addition to native tobacco, we had put a mixture of white, blue, red, and pink beads on the market, which took like wildfire, and slabs of 'Lucky Hit' home tobacco also justified its name after the natives had become accustomed to the sweetness of its taste.

About mid-day the old chief Alinakono, accompanied by a following of thirty or forty men, all bearing sheaves of corn, came to pay his respects to us. He was a fine, distinguished-looking old man, and held forth at great length on the friendly relations existing between his people and the column. He ended his oration somewhat as follows: 'With much grief we hear that you are leaving us to-morrow.

Why are you going away? This country is all yours, as you are my brother. You have come here, you have bought food from us, you have given us all presents. Our shambas (fields) you have guarded from being plundered. Our youths you have not tied up nor beaten, and in no way have our women been molested nor violated. Whilst you are with us we have no fear of the Turkana. Stay with us.' Our duty called us elsewhere, however, and I could only promise to remain one day longer, during which I told him I hoped his people would bring in much food for sale.

On the 23rd we had another successful day, and for two cows, one calf, and a donkey and foal obtained some thirty-two loads of grain and sixty-seven goats and sheep. Retail marketing in camp for beads and tobacco only produced about nine and a half bags of grain, and it was now apparent that the natives were cleared out of all that they could spare. Issuing two days' food all round the column, we found we still had seventy bags of grain left wherewith to face the return journey to Ngaboto—a distance of about thirty days—where we hoped to meet Tracy with fresh supplies about October 22. Our numbers had not been appreciably reduced, and on full-scale ration the men would require from five to six bags of grain a day. However, I hoped, by supplementing with meat, to make these seventy bags last for a full month. It must be explained that grain and flour being the staple food of the Swahili, he is unable to exist and maintain his strength on meat alone, unless he receives large quantities per diem. Count Teleki found that when his men were solely on a meat ration they required some 12 pounds of meat a day to perform their work! From my own experience, I am inclined to agree with this statement; but, on the other hand, if the porter can obtain a handful or so of grain, with a pound or two of meat in addition, he can carry his load for some time without breaking down, although he will lose condition very rapidly

on this diet. The full ration of a Swahili is placed at 1½ pounds of flour per diem, but we could now only issue about one-third that amount of grain, which, of course, does not go anything like so far as the flour. Nevertheless, one's mind was relieved of immense anxiety after the success of our dealings with the Marle people, and by judicious control we hoped to keep grain going until we reached Ngaboto.

We had now requisitioned our wild Turkana donkeys for transport purposes in order to carry the grain purchased. On September 24 we left Lumian and started for Komogul. We spent an exasperating time with our fresh donkeys. They were full of spirits, and we were occupied until 6 a.m.—the 'rouse' always went at 4 a.m.—loading them up, and then the fun began. Most of the donkeys were matrons, some of whom had no less than three sons or daughters amongst the herd. As soon as mother was loaded, therefore, and let out of the enclosure, she started braying for all she was worth, and darted off to gather up her family one by one, until she had secured all her offspring to accompany her on the march. Long before she had succeeded in doing that her load was generally peacefully reposing somewhere on the plain, and she had to be caught to be loaded up again—a no easy business. I never knew before the extraordinary affection these animals possess, nor had previously realized the strength of family ties in our asinine carriers. It was very charming, but a nuisance. If mother had been attached to her latest offspring there would have been little grounds for complaint; but when she insisted on hunting up her boy of the time before that, and her grown-up daughter of the time before that again, we got bored. She ought to have forgotten that they also were her children long ago, but she didn't.

At Komogul we again received a friendly welcome, were presented with three sheep, and purchased an additional

three bags of grain, and next day were back again across the border in Turkana. We experienced even more trouble this day with the donkeys, and by 7.30 Bright and I, with the rear-guard, were only two miles out of Komogul. I was now anxious to pay the Turkana for the donkeys we had commandeered, and tried to induce several that we saw to approach us, but they bolted. On September 26 we again passed along the base of Mount Lubur, and camped on the lake shore at one of our previous camps south of the long sand-pit. Ferguson about now was suffering a good deal from fever, and throughout our journey south along the lake was never really well. Having no sketching to do just at present, I was able to indulge in shooting on the march along the lagoons until we reached the camp where we had first struck the lake at the end of August. Water birds were plentiful, and ducks, geese, and others added much to the pleasures of the table. We could not get in touch, however, with the Turkana. Ferguson now found that one of our porters was suffering from small-pox, evidently contracted at Murle, and great precautions had to be observed on the march and on arrival in camp to segregate him from the rest of the column. Thanks to the treatment he received, he quite recovered in course of time, though he had daily to march with the disease upon him. Most providentially, none of the other porters showed symptoms, and this proved to be an isolated case, for which one felt more than thankful, as there are few diseases more fatal to a caravan than an outbreak of small-pox, of which we had previous experience on the Uganda Railway Survey in 1892.

I now decided that, as we were only a mile or so from the point where we should have to leave the lake if we proceeded to the Turkwel across the desert, to abandon that route and continue south along the lake shore to the mouth of the Turkwel. I did not feel justified in again subjecting the men in their present exhausted condition, nor the animals,

to the hardships of that journey, and was convinced, from the surveys made, that if we continued south along the lake to the Turkwel, and then west to the point where we had previously left that river, it would only be four or five marches longer than the short-cut; and so it proved. We passed our first camp on the lake, therefore, on October 1, and worked south along the shore. Some four and a half miles south of our camp of August 31 we crossed a large nullah bed which, nearing the lake, spills out into several important channels, forming a delta of alluvial soil, on which the Turkana had sown crops, the banks being thickly covered with fan-palms. Two miles further on, again, we crossed another equally important river-bed with three or four mouths, and it is by no means uncommon to find that other large watercourses enter the lake by several outlets. Another fact that struck me was that near the point of entry the level of these beds was lower than that of the lake, from which they are separated by a low bar of alluvial soil, which has been formed by deposit.

That same evening another of our porters, who had been ill for some time with kidney disease, died, and was buried just outside camp. The following day for the first time we were able to open communication again with the Turkana of Lake Rudolf, as we were accompanied by five or six on the line of march, and after camp had been pitched others also put in an appearance. They were made presents of tobacco, and so forth, and I was now able to ascertain who the owners of the donkeys were, and handed over to them a whole load of brass wire and two loads of 'punda malia' (zebra) beads, for which they expressed the most cordial thanks, and vowed repeatedly that we were the best people in the whole world. I felt pleased that they really had at last realized this fact! Many young bloods visited us during the afternoon, fine upstanding young fellows, beautifully moulded, and rigged out in all their best. I have

previously given some description of the race, and these people did not differ in any very essential degree from those previously seen. We purchased three sheep in exchange for tobacco, and at last their suspicions appeared to have been set at rest regarding our friendly intentions.

On October 3 we camped near the head of a bay formed by a long promontory of sand-hills projecting in a northerly direction into the lake. During the march we had in parts traversed tracts thickly wooded with palms and thorn-trees, and at one time had to twist about in an amazing way through a broad dense growth of trees at the delta of the Lugurmeri River, which has two principal mouths about half a mile apart. All along the western shores the lagoons I have before mentioned are one of the most marked features of the lake, and from the north end to nearly as far south as the Turkwel we passed a continuous series of them, separated from the open waters of the lake by sand-banks thrown up by the action of the waves. Next day we soon crossed the mouth of the Kobua water-course, and shortly after became involved in the sand-hills, as Nyanga, for some reason, took us straight through them, instead of going round, which we could easily have done some distance away from the lake. Consequently, our progress was most laborious, floundering through soft shifting sand into which one sank over the boots in parts; and clambering up and down over the hillocks was about as fatiguing a business as one cared about. Later we proceeded along the top of precipitous cliffs of sand and earth, which arise from the margin of the lake hereabouts, until eventually we were able to get down to the shore and camp on a small bay near a large nullah fringed with palms.

The encroachment of the lake here in a westerly direction was very apparent, as palm-trees in a dead or dying condition were standing out of the water a mile, if not more, from the shore. The lake at this point had narrowed very con-

siderably, and was only from sixteen to seventeen miles wide. To the south-east of Choro Island, which also is probably volcanic, are two other small rocky islands—mere snags they appeared to us at a distance of seven or eight miles. We had a long day on October 5, and throughout the march saw very little of the lake. Until the last two miles the country had been fairly open, but the going was very heavy on account of the sand. We then, however, plunged into a dense tract of bush and palms in our endeavours to get back to the lake for water, but were confronted with swamp, and had to camp. Surrounded on all sides by tall rank grass and many palms, it was a pretty poisonous spot, and we seemed to be on the site of some old fields intersected by tiny irrigation channels, up which, during the evening, the waters of the lake unexpectedly put in an appearance, blown up, I suppose, by the wind. A short march of five and a half miles next day in a south-westerly direction brought us to the Turkwel river-bed, after we had penetrated a thick belt of tall table-topped acacias. We were not a little surprised to find that here it was from half a mile to 1,000 yards in width, though quite dry. We crossed to the opposite bank, and finding water procurable on digging, near the surface, camped in a pleasant glade of tall acacias.

A large number of Turkana visited us, bringing in goats and sheep for sale, and a little flour made out of the fruit of the 'mkono' (that's the Swahili name; I don't know its scientific) palm. The general consensus of opinion amongst the Swahilis was that eating this red flour resulted in sudden death, accompanied by violent 'tumbo,' or pains in the stomach, so we tried it not. Good grazing was again abundant after the meagre fare the animals had been able to pick up along the lake shores, so we made our weekly halt at this camp on the Turkwel next day. Bright followed the river-bed down to ascertain where it exactly entered

the lake, but found that after a short distance it became reduced in width to about fifty yards, and subsequently entirely disappeared into a sandy stretch of country about half a mile across, which was perfectly dry and arid, and showed no appearance of water ever having flowed over it, for no banks or water-courses were visible. Beyond this stretch of sand the lake shores were reached and found to consist of a broad belt of swamp. When it is considered how great a volume of water is brought down towards Lake Rudolf both by the Weiwei and Turkwel rivers, which join a few miles north of Ngaboto, it is all the more remarkable to learn that this important river gets gradually absorbed by the sandy soil through which its course runs, until it at length entirely disappears before the lake is reached.

CHAPTER XIV

BACK TO THE BASE AT SAVE

On October 8 we started off again, and for the next few days proceeded generally in a westerly direction along the Turkwel, the bed of which we followed the first two days, as the banks are clothed in a thick growth of tall trees and bush. There was no water flowing, but we had little difficulty in obtaining sufficient for our requirements by digging in the sand, although the watering of the animals was always a lengthy business. Many of the native wells we came across were four to five feet in depth, and our transport animals in consequence had to be watered out of buckets. At this time we still possessed about 130 donkeys, 6 camels, 130 goats and sheep, and perhaps 50 cattle, including our milch cows and calves, so it may be imagined many hours were spent daily in this work. It was pleasant to obtain fresh water again after a long course of the Rudolf waters, which had begun to pall on one somewhat, as it possessed no thirst-assuaging properties, and in the great heat of this season of the year one was constantly perspiring and in need of liquid refreshment.

At the termination of our march on the 9th we caught sight of Songot Peak, a landmark of the point where we had previously left the Turkwel when embarking on our desert march, and its familiar form evoked an outburst of cheering from our porters. At our camp of October 10 we were only some five and a half miles from our former camp of August 25, and when we were about to march to that point were not

a little surprised to find that the dry river-bed of the previous evening had, during the night, been converted into a fine running stream thirty to forty yards wide and knee-deep. We soon reached our former camp at the bend of the river, but were disappointed to learn that this neighbourhood had been deserted during our absence by the natives, who had moved further south, up the Turkwel, to take advantage of the grazing, which had here given out. The only case of desertion amongst our column took place on this day, when one of the porters who was carrying a box of provisions disappeared with it—apparently when we were traversing a thick belt of bush. I must record the fact, however, that nothing could have exceeded the loyal behaviour of the porters and men during this trying period. In spite of having little more than sufficient to keep them strong enough to perform their arduous duties of carrying loads in a heat—at this time—that few parts of Africa exceed, neither I nor any of my officers once heard grumbling regarding the short rations to which they were of necessity restricted. Nyanga certainly would occasionally, in a humorous way, point out that really the ears of an ox were not a particularly profuse ration of meat for him. His share of the animal was the head, from which he had to supply meat to his young son, an old Masai woman, and her little daughter, seven or eight years old. The result was—so he said—that he himself had to dine off the two ears! He was a wag in his way was our old Suk guide.

We were now on familiar ground again, and knew that ten marches more should bring us to the Ngaboto post. The small stock of grain brought from Lumian had been so judiciously served out to the men by Bright that he was able to say, barring any unforeseen losses or accidents on the road, what still remained should just suffice to enable the column to reach Ngaboto. Everything now depended, therefore, on meeting Tracy with fresh supplies at that place.

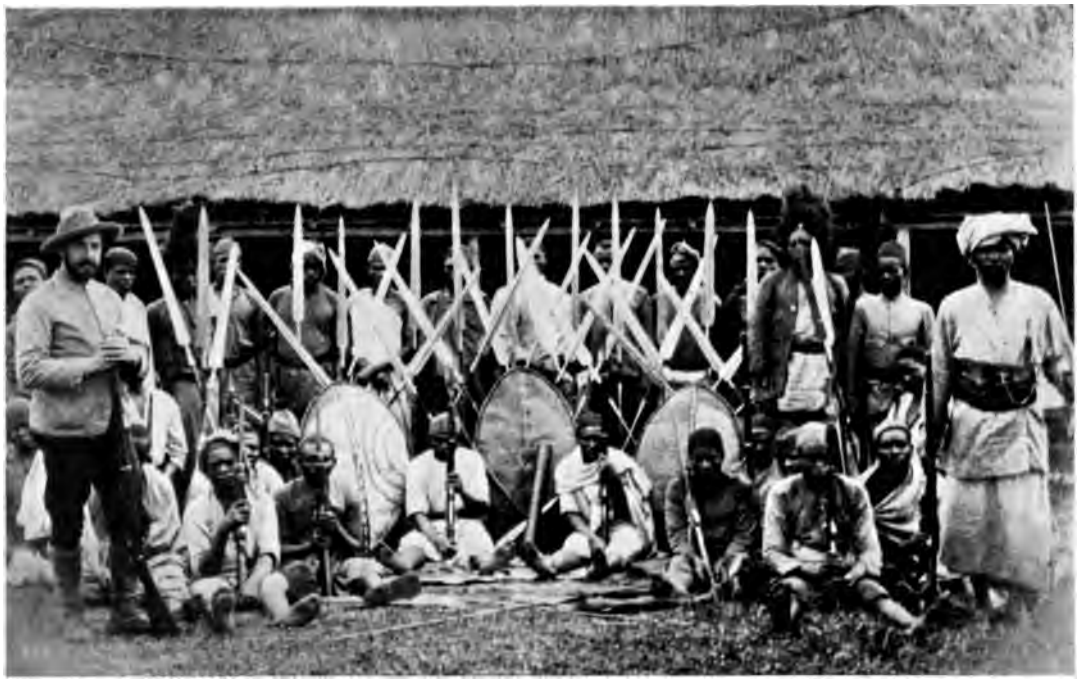
Had he been able to perform his difficult mission single-handed in the time at his disposal, and left Save, as instructed, on or about October 10, he should reach Ngaboto not later than the 22nd, by which date we, too, hoped to be once more at the old boma. On the other hand, had he encountered insuperable difficulties regarding the purchase of transport animals at Karamojo, and been delayed in consequence, we should not find him at Ngaboto, and would still have a further journey of twelve days to our base at Save. We calculated that on arrival at Ngaboto our grain would be exhausted, and that we should only have some eighteen oxen left, which would nothing like suffice the column for the remainder of the journey. I was extremely anxious, therefore, to purchase some 250 goats and sheep from the Turkana, as, with this addition to our live-stock, I felt that it would then be possible, even if Tracy failed us, to struggle through with the column to Save. We were disappointed, therefore, to find that the Kagwalas Turkana had migrated elsewhere. We continued along the Turkwel on October 12, but instead of proceeding as we had done on August 24 to the point where we had first made the acquaintance of the Ngamatak people on fording the Turkwel, Nyanga took us to another ford, and after crossing we at once became involved most hopelessly midst dense forest growth, and had to recross the river a second time. Again we got hung up in forest abounding with fresh tracks of elephants, and here I secured a fine specimen of a puff adder, the skin of which now sometimes adorns the waists of my two sisters, in the form of belts. We struggled along, and eventually got clear, and then, wading through the river a third time, came upon a large Swahili trading caravan, which had just arrived from Marich on its way north to Dabossa, under the leadership of an Arab, Ali bin Sali by name.

The Swahilis that afternoon brought round the chief of

the Ngamatak Turkana—Eriopul Kiapa by name—to make friends with us. He was an enormously fat man, with such a glorious expanse of—waist, perhaps I had better call it, that he was generally known to the traders as 'Tumbo' (stomach). He was so very striking a personality that I will digress for a moment in attempting to describe him. His physical proportions have already been touched on. His dress consisted of a hat of cowrie shells, to which were attached a couple of flaps covering each ear, the main framework of cowries running fore and aft over the centre of his head. The old gentleman was quite bald—you don't often see a bald nigger—and so had this head-gear attached to his long matted hair-bag, presumably to support the bag, as the cowrie hat itself was fixed on to his cranium. The remainder of his dress consisted of many bracelets of iron wire on each wrist. We thought it more befitting the dignity of a Sultan of his importance that he should wear some sort of clothing, so presented the elephantine old man with cloth, and also gave him beads and some tobacco. I am afraid he considered it positively indecent to fold the cloth around him, on the principle that beauty unadorned is adorned the most, as he quietly rolled it up and put it down by his side for future high-festival occasions. The Swahili traders possessed manyg oats and sheep, which they purchased from the Turkana at small prices of five strings of beads each, and we tried to do a deal with them, but, as usual, they overreached themselves by their so considered cunning. I offered a small load of pundamalia beads (about 600 strings) for a flock of fifty, to which they agreed, as they would make a big profit on the transaction, of which I was, of course, quite aware; still, we wanted the sheep, and couldn't eat the beads. They returned to their camp, and later turned up with a flock which purported to number fifty. We counted them; there were only forty-six. We pointed out the deficiency; but they only made excuses,

and, seeing our straits, tried to 'pinch' these four out of us, so I told them to take away their animals, which they did, rather crestfallen at having lost a good bargain. As guides with the traders were two natives of Njemps—old Baringo was one, and the other a delightful young fellow, Gania by name—both of whom had the previous year accompanied Norman Macdonald and Bright from Njemps to Save. From Gania we learnt that the traders were paying an average price of five strings of beads for each goat and sheep, and from fifteen to twenty for donkeys. We had to obtain this information surreptitiously, but were anxious to ascertain this fact, with a view to subsequent dealings with the Turkana, which I hoped we would shortly embark on, for the traders reported that they had been able to purchase largely from those settled now along the Turkwel.

They complained bitterly, however, of the treacherous behaviour of the natives, who sold goats, sheep, and donkeys during the daytime, whilst at night they would lie in wait round the camp and steal back what they could. The Swahilis dared not go out of camp after dark to draw water, as several of their number had been stabbed by the Turkana lying in wait. Ali said his party was too weak and too short of ammunition to take reprisals, and they were compelled, therefore, to bribe the Turkana heavily. The ponderous 'Tumbo' promised to send men out requesting his people to sell livestock to us as we passed south along the Turkwel to Ngaboto; but everywhere from the Turkana we received the same reply: 'We have no sheep or goats here, but further south you will be able to purchase as many as you require.' Judging by the numerous tracks we saw leading to the river, we knew this statement to be false; but we bore with it for some time. On October 13 we were camped on the Turkwel at our former camp near the two small Kalnalechikal Hills, a Turkana kraal being situated a short distance up stream from us. I had sent for the chief,



PURKISS WITH MASAI TROPHIES, FORT SMITH.

and informed him that we wished to trade for the purchase of goats and sheep. As usual, we were assured none were available here, but further up stream, etc., etc. In spite of these protestations, about mid-day the natives drove almost through our camp flocks of goats and sheep, which must have numbered over 2,000, and proceeded to water them before our very tents. This was a trifle too hot, so the order was quietly given to the Sikhs and Sudanese to surround the flocks on the bank. The Turkana at once fled, leaving this enormous bleating crowd of livestock in our hands. Messengers were at once sent out recalling them, and those reassembled were informed that we had no wish to plunder them of these animals, but that, as it was imperative we should have some 250, it was proposed, with their assistance, to select so many from each flock, and that when the requisite number had been separated they were at liberty to drive away the remainder, and we would pay them at once for those taken. To this they readily agreed, and several of the elders came down to the water's edge and pointed out those that could best be spared, females being avoided, as these they value highly, not only for their milk, but for breeding purposes. Everything was carried out in a perfectly amicable and friendly spirit, and when some 220 had been separated the Turkana were informed that they could now drive off the remainder.

That same evening sixty of the animals were paid for liberally in beads, cowries, iron, and brass wire, the owners expressing themselves as more than satisfied. They then promised that the owners of the remainder should attend at our next camp the following day to receive payment for their share of the animals. On October 14 we made a short march of some eight and a half miles to our old camp, where we had first seen elephants on the Turkwel. Camp was pitched, and the animals sent out to graze under guard, whilst we awaited the arrival of the Turkana, who were to

come for payment. Suddenly an alarm was raised by the grazing guard to the effect that the Turkana were attacking them. These had crept up unseen through the thick bush and long grass in which the animals were feeding, evidently with the intention of making a sudden rush and driving off as many of the livestock as they could. The cry for assistance was quickly responded to, but before the men from camp could reach the scene of attack, the Turkana had succeeded in stabbing to death one man, speared three oxen, which died, speared one camel, and got off with a second. They were promptly driven off by well-directed volleys, and during the subsequent pursuit a herd of some fifty of their donkeys and twenty to thirty additional goats and sheep were captured.

The natives themselves, unfortunately, escaped, and were at once lost to view in the thick bush. They returned later, however, and made repeated attempts throughout the day to get in amongst the guard and animals, but were on each occasion dispersed by volleys fired into the long grass midst which they were lurking. The camp was at once surrounded by a thick thorn zeriba, as it was anticipated that during the night further attacks would be made. About 1.30 a.m. a night alarm was raised by one of the sentries firing several shots in rapid succession at Turkana detected outside the thorns. These men appear to have been creeping round, feeling with their spears for any weak point in the zeriba, where admission might be obtained into camp.

During the whole of October 15 we remained halted to give the men and animals their weekly rest. Frequent attempts were again made on the grazing guard, which had been strongly reinforced. It was quite impossible to detect the enemy until they were almost in among the animals, owing to the thick nature of the country. Time after time they were dispersed by volleys fired into the long grass and bush, but again and again they returned. Thanks, however, to

the extreme vigilance of the men entrusted with the care of the animals, the natives only succeeded in spearing one ox, which died. What their own losses were it is quite impossible to tell, as those hit either always managed to crawl away, or were carried off by their comrades and disappeared like magic.

During the march of the 16th the column was followed on the flanks and in rear by bands of Turkana, who did not, venture, however, to press home an attack. Next day, whilst Ferguson and I were accompanying the rear-guard, we were delayed owing to one of our camels collapsing in a nullah with its load. A few Sudanese had been stationed on the bank whilst we were at work readjusting the brute's load beneath. Apparently attracted by the awful noise made by the grumbling beast, and possibly expecting to find only two or three men with the camel, a band of Turkana came gaily up at the double to polish us off. Said Effendi, my Sudanese native officer, gave us warning, so Ferguson and I climbed up the nullah bank, joined the men posted there, and when our enterprising friends drew near we all pumped in for everything we were worth. They were unable to face so heavy a fire, and fled precipitately into the bush, several of their number being wounded, and leaving tracks of blood behind. The Turkana utter a most extraordinary kind of war-cry, which is not unlike the whistling bark of a zebra, interspersed now and again by a shrill 'cooey.'

On the 18th we were left unmolested on the march, though followed as usual; but on arrival in camp several attempts were again made on the grazing guard. I was obliged to send Bright out with a strong section to reinforce, and the natives were eventually driven off with volleys, leaving behind several spears and shields, in addition to many blood-marks. This did not damp their ardour, for again the following day large bands hovered round the column on the march, and at length became so threatening in

rear that Ferguson was obliged to engage them and drive them back. One man mortally wounded was left behind, whilst others less seriously hit managed to get away into the bush.

On October 20 we approached the Ngaboto border, and the Turkana became more daring than ever. Ferguson, with the advanced guard, found the natives so menacing in their attitude, having collected in an open glade with a view to barring the further passage of the column, that he halted the head of the column and ordered the Sikhs to prepare the Maxim for action. On my arrival I ordered Nyanga to hail the Turkana, and tell them that I was quite prepared to deal peacefully with them, but that if they insisted on attempting to obstruct us we should open fire on them. They shouted out in reply that they wished to fight us first for the possession of our transport and other animals, and would then talk of making peace. I then gave Bright instructions to turn the Maxim on them, which dispersed them very expeditiously. It was only a temporary dispersal, however, as shortly before the usual halt on the march they had again collected, and it was necessary to open fire upon and pursue them. Nothing daunted, they laid an ambush for us a short distance on, which, fortunately, was detected by Nyanga, so Ferguson with the Sikhs cleared the place by firing volleys into the undergrowth. The natives fled, leaving three of their number dead behind and several spears and shields. When I came up subsequently with the rear-guard the natives were again collecting, and had again to be dispersed.

On passing across the nullah my headman, Ali Somal, suddenly caught me by the shoulder, and pointed out a Turkana not fifteen yards off in the bush. He was a perfect picture of grace, with his spear poised in his hand ready to hurl at the next passer-by. His back was to us, so he did not see us, and Ali Somal promptly loaded his rifle, and was

about to fire, when I stopped him, fearing the bullet might pass through the man and hit one of our own men on the other side of the nullah. The Turkana then turned, and, seeing us, simply glided out of sight in a second, much as a snake might have done.

After camp had been pitched, a short distance on, the grazing guard were again attacked, and one of the men severely wounded in the leg by an arrow. However, he received prompt medical attention from Ferguson, and although his leg became much inflamed and swollen, he recovered completely in a few days, and was not much the worse for it. We were now in the Ngaboto district, which owned allegiance to the friendly chief Lomathimyai, who, we subsequently ascertained, had sent out to the hostile bands of Turkana of the Ngamatak district, ordering them not to enter his territory, as he had made blood-brotherhood with us. From this day, therefore, this extremely annoying guerilla warfare ceased. As the column on the line of march, hampered by large numbers of transport animals, goats, sheep, oxen, and camels, occupied a distance of not less than a mile in length, filing through the bush and thorn, extreme vigilance had to be observed to prevent the Turkana from breaking in on any portion of the column. Our small loss —one man killed and one man wounded—I think speaks volumes for the great caution both men and officers observed in giving the enemy little or no opportunity of doing us serious damage, in spite of the unfavourable nature of the country. It would be difficult to estimate accurately the losses inflicted on the Turkana during this week's fighting, but it is not unlikely that they lost at least from thirty to forty in killed and wounded. A tribute of admiration must be paid to this warlike though treacherous tribe, who, in spite of being armed merely with spears, shields, and bows and arrows, never hesitated to face the fire of breech-loading rifles. Notwithstanding their daily losses, they again

and again renewed the attack, seemingly little discouraged by their futile attempts to inflict serious damage. Physically they are a magnificent race of men, many of them standing well over 6 feet in height, and splendidly proportioned. I have only seen one finer race, I think, in Africa—the Karamojo natives, to whom I have previously referred. Although bitter enemies of the Turkana, they are closely allied to them, and would appear originally to have come of the same stock. They resemble each other in many respects, both physically and in their warlike instincts; but the Wa-Karamojo are perhaps more trustworthy, and I do not think descend to treachery, as they are more frank and above-board in dealing with Europeans.

On October 21 we had reached the junction of the Turkwel and Weiwei rivers, a few miles north of the second degree of north latitude, and knew that next day we should reach the Ngaboto post. Had Tracy arrived yet with the much-wished-for supplies? was the all absorbing question, for the last issue of grain had been made. We fired signal rockets that night in the hope that they might possibly attract his attention and acquaint him of our whereabouts. As we approached our station next day we were joined by Lomathimyai, who, however, could give us no information regarding the relief column, which we were so anxiously expecting. On reaching the boma there were no signs of Tracy and his men, so the column filed on towards the Weiwei crossing, some two miles distant, disappointment being clearly written on their faces, as throughout all this trying period we had buoyed up the hopes of the men with the promise of plenty of food once we reached Ngaboto. I remained with a few men at the site of the post, over which the small Union Jack was still flying, whilst the houses and lines were still intact, though the ground inside the stockade had become much overgrown with rank weeds and long grass.

Ferguson had pushed on with the head of the column to the ford, and almost the whole caravan had filed past me, when suddenly joyous shouts from that direction announced that something unusual had occurred. Walking on to ascertain the cause, I was not long left in doubt, as presently Tracy's servant Ramazan rushed up to me to shake me by the hand. Ferguson and Tracy had, then, met at the river crossing! After an absence of two and a half months the two columns had actually met on the very day Ngaboto was reached, and whilst Tracy was in the act of crossing the ford with his column, ours had arrived upon the scene. Could anything have possibly been more opportune? We were out of food, and were still faced with the difficult journey of some ten to twelve days back to our base at Save, the men having for the last two months been restricted to less, considerably, than half rations—on an average. Their appearance, in consequence, contrasted in a most marked manner with the sleek, well-filled forms of the relief column, for our men were much worn, thin, and fatigued. They were now, however, to revel in the midst of plenty, for Tracy had brought with him 152 donkeys, carrying 250 loads of flour, in addition to which he was accompanied by 78 goats and sheep, 30 oxen, and 11 milch cows. The joy of all knew no bounds, and the men received double rations of flour for the next few days to fill up the void created by a long course of a handful of grain.

During this period of rest the chief Lomathimyai paid us several visits, and handed over the contents of the posts which had been left under his charge. The steel boat was found complete in every detail, and he received a present of a cow for the valuable services he had rendered. The able and successful manner in which Tracy had carried out his difficult mission single-handed was deserving of the highest praise. Leaving Ngaboto in the middle of August with a few cows and trade goods, he returned to Save, put in

train all preliminary arrangements there, and then proceeded to Karamojo to purchase the large number of transport anmials necessary for the relief column. This work was a complicated and lengthy one, but I must deal more in detail with it in a subsequent chapter. By October 10 all his preparations had been completed, and he started to meet us from Save with a number of men scarcely sufficient to look after his large caravan of donkeys, considering the difficulties of the road and the thick nature of the country.

The return to Save was now decided on, and it was arranged that this should be done in three columns. Tracy was to return with his original column, followed at a day's interval by Ferguson and the greater portion of the Rudolf Column, by the route over the Chemorongi Mountains. The loads, livestock, etc., were to be equally distributed between these two columns, whilst Bright and I proceeded south with a light flying column to Marich, and thence continued, as the previous year, to Save by the Muroni Valley route. I was anxious to complete the survey of these regions by connecting Ngaboto with Marich, and we had, moreover, to return our old friend Nyanga to his home, as his services would now no longer be required.

Bright and I started on October 25 with our small detachment of about forty-five men, forty donkeys, and some goats, sheep, and cattle. For the first four miles we wound our way through thorn and aloe until we struck the track running south to Marich, and then for the remaining six miles of the march gradually approached the lower slopes of the mountains, crossing three of four dry nullah beds, one of which was densely wooded with a broad belt of thick undergrowth, before we reached a small running stream, on which we camped in a bay in the hills near a prominent peak. The whole country is thickly wooded with thorn, whilst the Weiwei River banks, some miles to the east of us, were thickly fringed with trees. A trying march of twelve and a

half miles the following day by a circuitous route along the lower slopes of the mountains brought us to a beautiful mountain stream, the Myal by name, which flows through a deep wooded glen, the mountain towering above our camping-ground. A large number of dry water-courses had to be crossed, the descents into and ascents out of which caused considerable delay, owing to their steep, rocky nature. To the east of the Weiwei several mountain ranges arose out of the plains, which continue in a more or less connected manner further north along the Turkwel, broken at intervals with wide gaps of several miles in extent, almost as far north as the third degree of north latitude. These hills would appear to constitute the water parting between the Turkwel and Kerio river systems. We had now reached the northerly limit of permanent Suk settlements, as huts were discerned high up on the hill-slopes, and we were visited by several natives, who had evidently been holding high festival, as they were humorously intoxicated, though not offensively so.

A circuitous march of about eight and a half miles on October 27 brought us once more to our old camping-ground at Marich. We had considerable difficulty in crossing the Myal stream, owing to the rocky nature of the descent, and another mile or so further on reached the Sekere stream, which falls down the precipitous face of a cliff. Later we reached the Muroni, and found large fields of grain along the banks, cleverly irrigated by the natives, who met us in considerable numbers. Ali bin Sali had told us he had obtained plenty of flour both at Sekere and Marich, and yet the previous year we had been able to purchase none. The Wa-Suk were exceedingly friendly, and many of them were hilariously drunk, yet they never touched anything left about camp. They were most anxious to obtain iodoform for ulcers in exchange for small pots of honey they brought us, and had we required food we should doubtless have been

able to purchase as much as we could carry. The bulk of our donkey loads were carried by the porters to the camp beyond the Camel's Leap on the 29th, and there left under a small guard, as we well remembered that transport animals could not traverse that first five and a half miles up the Muroni with their loads, and we arranged to continue the journey the following day.

In the evening we paid off Nyanga, who received a cow and calf, a donkey, and ten goats and sheep, whilst to the boy we gave fifteen goats and sheep for his services. On the 30th we continued our journey up the valley of the Muroni, and experienced less difficulty than the previous year in the undertaking. I need enter into no details regarding our journey through these Suk hills. On November 4 we had reached the Karamojo plains, and the following day crossed the Turkwel, and when camp was pitched Ferguson with his column arrived viâ the Chemorongi route. Tracy was on ahead, and had left his sections of the steel boat at the Rarosia River, where a small temporary post was to be formed, as the road to Mumia's branched off at that point, and Bright was shortly to proceed to the latter place to arrange about food for the whole expedition. Ferguson also left his sections here, as the boat was to be transported subsequently to the Victoria Nyanza, and it appeared useless waste of labour to carry these loads four marches to Save and back again to the Rarosia, *en route* to Kavirondo. A small guard of six Sudanese and eight Swahilis were to remain in charge of the boat-sections until Bright arrived from Save in about a fortnight's time. Eventually the lower Save boma was reached by the three columns respectively from Ngaboto on the 9th, 11th, and 12th November. The Rudolf Column had been absent a trifle under three and a half months, during which period 850 miles had been marched and surveyed. Since leaving Save we had lost five men by death and desertion, whilst

one other had been killed and a second wounded during our troubles with the Turkana.

The reader now having followed the movements of the Headquarters and Rudolf Columns, the work of Tracy's Column at the base and on the line of communications must be briefly described.

CHAPTER XV

TRACY AT THE BASE, AND WITH RELIEF COLUMN

As has previously been recorded, Hanbury-Tracy returned from Ngaboto to Save on August 14 to take command of the base, keep open the lines of communication of the other two columns, and to organize a monthly mail to Mumia's, through which place the Government mails from Uganda passed. He had then to proceed to Karamojo for the purpose of purchasing donkeys, and skins wherewith to manufacture primitive panniers (known to the Swahilis as 'sogis'), for the carriage of the flour to be taken from Save to the assistance of the Rudolf Column. In addition to the food required for this purpose, 300 loads of food were to be stored at the lower Save post against the return of the Headquarter Column, in order to enable the whole combined expedition to traverse the foodless tract of country round the east of Mount Elgon to the borders of Ketosh.

This work was one of considerable importance and difficulty, but it had been hoped that the services of a Government official from Mumia's might be obtained to assist Tracy in the undertaking. As one, however, could not at this time be spared, the work had ultimately to be carried out single-handed by him, and was performed in a very able and successful manner. On leaving us at Ngaboto, it may be remembered, I asked him, if possible, to start with the relief column from Save not later than October 10. For purposes of barter he had some thirty-five cows and thirty-eight oxen, and was to take on brass wire and beads

from Save, in order to purchase the requisite number of transport animals, etc., in Karamojo. The lower Save post was reached by making long marches on August 23, and Tracy arrived in time to send on to the Headquarter Column some eighty loads of food. For this, it may be remembered, Macdonald had sent back donkeys from Manimani when it had been decided by him to form a depot at that place, prior to reconnoitring north to obtain reliable information regarding the Sudanese, of whose proximity he received notice from the Swahili traders. This done, Tracy organized the monthly mail service, and then proceeded to Mbai to arrange for the purchase of the large amount of food necessary before he could make a start for Ngaboto, and which he wished to find ready against his return from Karamojo. This work occupied some little time, so it was not until August 30 that he could set out for Manimani with a small column of fifty men and the requisite trade goods.

After six marches across the plains and then round the base of Dabasien, Manimani was reached on September 5, and on arrival he called in the assistance of the Swahili traders at that place to expedite the purchase of the necessary transport animals. Men were sent out to the neighbouring villages to buy up all the donkeys procurable, whilst Tracy himself remained at Manimani, where a market was established, and donkeys and skins were purchased in exchange for cows, sheep, brass wire, and beads. It may be of interest to give the ruling prices at that time, and possibly of some value to others, who may find themselves in those regions at some future date:

6 donkeys	were	obtained	in	exchange	for	1	cow
2 „	„	„	„	„	„	1	heifer
1 donkey	was	„	„	„	„	10	sheep
1 „	„	„	„	„	„	3	coils of brass wire.

At the end of two days thirty donkeys and forty bullock skins (the latter cost one sheep or goat each) were obtained. As few individuals possessed, or were willing to part with, a sufficient number of donkeys in exchange for a cow, fifty to sixty goats and sheep were purchased for that animal, and these in turn were bartered for donkeys and skins. Foreseeing that considerable time would be taken in purchasing the requisite number of donkeys, Tracy despatched the first consignment of thirty with orders to return to Save, pick up sixty loads of food there, and form an advanced depot at the foot of the Chemorongi Mountains, some nine marches distant from Elgon on the road to Ngaboto. A small garrison of Sudanese and Swahilis were to be left in charge of this depot, and the animals and their attendants to return to the lower Save post.

The Manimani district was now pretty well denuded of donkeys, so the market was removed from that place to Lochoro Kuwiam, where a fresh one was opened out and more donkeys purchased. About this time Macdonald and Pereira arrived from Gule to take on the heavy baggage, which had been temporarily left at Manimani, and additional instructions were received by Tracy, who subsequently proceeded to Bukora to continue the purchase of donkeys. After much labour, by September 18 he had succeeded in procuring in all 133 donkeys and 180 skins; and as much still remained to be done at Save before the relief column could start to the assistance of the Rudolf Column, a return to the base was decided on, for all food collected at Mbai had to be brought down and stored at the lower Save boma, and the skins to be made up into 'sogis.'

Save was reached again on September 24, and it was then found that the natives of Sore, who intervened between Save and Mbai, had again been giving trouble, and interfered with the Swahilis and others passing between the two stations. Owing to the block caused, little or no food had

been transported from Mbai to Save during Tracy's absence in Karamojo, for the Swahilis feared the responsibility of taking active measures during the absence of their officer, and the natives in consequence had become exceedingly truculent.

The chances of being able to leave now by October 10 seemed remote, but Tracy at once organized a punitive column to operate against the Wa-Sore. Leaving the Upper Save post on September 29 with two sections of Swahilis and Sudanese, he moved out to attack their position. On the approach of the small column the natives collected in large numbers, evidently with the intention of opposing its advance, but were quickly dispersed by rifle fire, whereupon they fled into their mountain recesses, driving their cattle and sheep before them. A flank movement was made with the object of cutting them off, and whilst this was being carried out other natives were encountered, and the flocks of sheep they were driving away were captured with little difficulty. The pursuit was maintained, but the natives quickly disappeared into the thick vegetation with which the slopes of Elgon hereabouts are clothed. Information was, however, obtained from the guide who accompanied the punitive column regarding the existence of a place of refuge in which the natives were in the habit of concealing themselves and their cattle and flocks when sore pressed.

With much difficulty this place was discovered, and proved to be an enormous cave which tunnelled right into the heart of the mountain. The mouth of this formidable retreat was strongly barricaded with large rocks and trunks of trees, leaving only a small passage by which entry could be obtained, and it was so dark inside that it was impossible to see the natives. When the cavern was approached showers of arrows were discharged by the natives concealed within, which were replied to by the attacking force firing several volleys into the darkness.

After some persuasion Tracy succeeded in bringing his men right up to the barricade, with the object of firing through it. When this at length was reached, half the Swahili section were detailed to pull it down, whilst the remainder fired into the cave, and kept a sharp look-out on the flanks and rear.

Meanwhile a party of natives had collected on the hill-side above the mouth of the cave, and commenced to roll down large stones and rocks on the force below. Fortunately, these were for the greater part caught by a large projecting ledge of rock over the mouth of the cave and did no harm. When ultimately an entry was forced through the barricade, the natives fled into the inner recesses of the cave, carrying away their dead and wounded; but a large flock of goats and sheep, two cows, and fourteen oxen were captured near the mouth. As the column retired with its spoils showers of arrows were discharged at it by the natives up on the hillsides, but they were quickly put to flight by a few well-directed volleys. The number of sheep secured amounted to about 180, whilst a large quantity of hides and skins were also obtained from the cave, which subsequently came in most useful for manufacturing donkey saddles. Three men had been wounded during the attack, but they all ultimately recovered. Camp was not reached that night until past 5 p.m., so the day's work had been long and trying.

The following morning Tracy continued to Mbai, and found that the garrison had remained unmolested, thanks to the loyalty of the Wa-Mbai, who had rejected all attempts on the part of the Wa-Sore to induce them to join in the opposition to the expedition.

Unfortunately, however, these disturbances in the neighbourhood had interfered considerably with the purchase of food, the arrangements for which had been made before Tracy left for Karamojo. Instead of the 600 loads of food which he had hoped to find ready, only 70 had been collected.

It was now the end of September, and in eleven days' time he should be starting for Ngaboto with the relief column. During this period it was imperative that at least another 200 loads should be obtained, and then it would be necessary to transport them some twenty miles over difficult country to the Lower Save post before the donkeys could be utilized.

The food round Mbai was becoming exhausted, and fresh markets would have to be opened. The local chiefs were again called in, and offered all the assistance in their power. The Lagin district, some four miles distant from Mbai, was now tapped, and here an abundance of food was procurable. The natives were extremely friendly, and promised to bring in all they could spare. The cattle captured from the Wa-Sore were slaughtered, and their flesh utilized for the purchase of flour, and in this way some twenty-five loads of flour were procured per diem. The food was now rapidly coming in, but the difficulty regarding its removal to the Lower Save post had to be overcome. The men at the base available for this work were nothing like sufficient, so a consultation was held with the various chiefs of these districts. They received numerous presents from Tracy, and on promise of payment to all the men who would undertake this work, they agreed to his proposals, and provided native carriers to transport the loads of food from Lagin and Mbai to the Lower Save post. The natives, in return for their services, were paid in cowrie shells, which they employ extensively for ornamenting their leather belts. In this manner a very necessary system of native transport was organized on the Elgon spurs, which proved of immense value subsequently to the whole expedition.

Troubles, however, were not yet at an end, for soon the Wa-Ucia, a large mountain tribe who occupy the loftier heights overlooking the Mbai and Lagin districts, descended on our friendlies, whom they raided, thus interfering greatly with the purchase of food. The friendly chiefs applied for

assistance in repelling these hostile attacks, so again Tracy was called upon to protect our allies, and moved out with a column to punish the Wa-Ucia for their aggressive behaviour. On the morning of October 3 he sallied out with a small number of Sudanese and Swahilis, accompanied by a large following of friendly natives, who were burning for revenge.

In order to reach the Ucia strongholds, a lofty rocky escarpment some 2,000 feet in height had to be ascended from the lower terraces or plateaux on which Mbai and Lagin are situated. After a stiff, trying climb, the summit was reached, when the natives at once retired hastily, and disappeared into the bush, abandoning their herds and flocks, which fell into the hands of the punitive force. Considering that the capture of these animals would be a sufficiently heavy punishment, Tracy decided to relinquish the pursuit and return to camp with such spoils as already had been obtained. During the retirement the rear-guard occupied the head of the pass until the remainder of the force and the animals had reached a place of safety below, when it in turn commenced the descent. When the Wa-Ucia observed the retirement they gathered courage, and collected on the flanks, discharging showers of arrows at the retiring force, but were quickly put to flight by a few volleys.

By October 3 sufficient food had been collected and transported by the natives to the Lower Save post to enable Tracy to consider the final arrangements prior to starting with the relief column to meet the Rudolf Column on its return journey. It had originally been his intention to draw in the posts at Lagin, Mbai, and Upper Save, with the object of concentrating the whole force left at the base to the Lower Save post. This, however, he was now unable to do, as the 300 loads of food required for the entire expedition had still to be collected and stored at the Lower Save

post, against the return of the two columns still in the field. As Mbai and Lagin were the only two districts in which food was being procured, he was compelled to maintain these posts, and the garrisons of those places were therefore supplied with trade goods, wherewith to continue the purchase of food, until the full 300 loads had been obtained and transported to the foot of the mountain.

Leaving Mbai on October 5, he marched the twelve miles back to our former Upper Save camp, and there constructed a new post, and placed our Indian hospital assistant, Sajjid Hussain, in command at the base. This man, during Tracy's absence and until the return of my column to Save, carried out this arduous work in a thoroughly efficient and praiseworthy manner, and we found on our arrival, rather more than a month later, he had succeeded in collecting and storing some 280 bundles of flour in the lower Save post, in addition to some 60 loads at other posts. The poor old man, however, was much relieved when we did arrive, as the anxieties and responsibilities of his new position amongst the Swahili porters he regarded with considerable misgiving, and begged that we might never call upon him to remain alone again in charge anywhere. He spoke English exceedingly well, and regarded the Swahilis and Sudanese rather as savages than comrades, so perhaps was not quite happy when requested to rule what he considered a wild, insubordinate, rough crowd.

Some of his remarks at times were very quaint and caused us much amusement. At an early period of the expedition, when Tracy and Bright were left at Save after the rest of us had gone off to Uganda to take part in the operations against the mutineers, they were returning from a visit to Karamojo. Amongst their pets they possessed a tame ostrich, nearly full-grown, which used to accompany them on the march, and solemnly go out grazing every day with the animals and return with them to camp

in the evening. Sajjid Hussain was asked his opinion regarding this curious pet, and replied: 'Oh, sir, it is too tall, but he has a beautiful face!' The idea of associating a 'beautiful face' with an ostrich is unusual, I imagine.

On October 7 Tracy moved his column to the Lower Save post, and on arrival found that the small party despatched to form a food depot at the foot of the Chemorongi Mountains had safely returned. Unfortunately, some twenty 'sogis' were still short of the requisite number, which would have involved a loss in carrying power of forty loads of food. To make good this deficiency, as no more skins were available for the purpose, he had to strip the sacking from the loads of beads and cloth, and even to utilize ordinary sheeting, flimsy as it was, for the manufacture of these primitive panniers. Owing to the many final arrangements that had to be made, he was unable to leave the Lower Save post until October 11, and decided, therefore, to adopt the cross-country route to the Turkwel, which was shorter, but entailed considerable hardship on the men and animals, owing to the scarcity of water, which was barely sufficient for normal requirements.

On October 19 the column reached the food depot at the foot of the Chemorongi Mountains, and here a ten days' issue of food was made to the men without having to draw on the supply being carried by the donkeys. Great difficulty was experienced in the crossing of this mountain range, owing to the steep, rocky nature of the ascent and descent, which occupied the column two long days to overcome. As has previously been described, eventually, on October 22, the Weiwei River was reached by the relief column, who were actually crossing the stream when my advance guard, under Ferguson, arrived upon the scene, and the happy and most timely meeting, to which allusion has already been made, took place.

CHAPTER XVI

MEETING WITH HEADQUARTERS IN BUKORA

On our return to Save I received a letter from Major Macdonald, written at Titi, October 1, some six weeks previously, in which he told me of his plans, and also explained the difficulties and anxieties that were being encountered, owing to the proximity of the Sudanese mutineers, and the possibilities of Dervishes being met with further north again. I naturally experienced no little concern regarding the safety of his column, and decided that, in the event of not hearing further from him in the course of the next ten days or so, I should proceed with a small column to Bukora, in Karamojo, with a view to gathering some information of his whereabouts. On November 14 we all moved up to the Upper Save post in order to obtain the benefit of the fine mountain air and climate, merely leaving below the original garrison of Swahilis, some additional Sudanese, and all our livestock, which consisted of 332 donkeys, 3 camels, 280 goats and sheep, some 50 oxen, and 18 cows.

At Save and the outlying districts were now congregated close on 400 men and women of the expedition, who would require daily some twelve loads of flour for its maintenance, so big inroads would soon be made on the supply already collected by Sajjid Hussain, and if we were to have 300 loads ready against Macdonald's return it behoved us to continue the purchase of food. Bright was to leave shortly for Mumia's, take on the sections of the steel boat left at the Rarosia, and arrange for some 500 loads of food in Kavi-

rondo, in order to enable the combined expedition to traverse the foodless country between Mumia's and Kikuyu. Tracy I proposed taking to Karamojo with me, whilst Ferguson would remain in command at the base during our absence, to continue the collection of food. On November 16, therefore, Tracy and Ferguson proceeded to Mbai, Lagin, and other districts, so that the latter might obtain personal acquaintance with the arrangements Tracy had previously made, and with the friendly chiefs who had afforded us so much assistance; whilst Bright and I had much clerical work to get through, writing reports, tracing maps for despatch to England, etc.

When Ferguson and Tracy were on their way back to rejoin us at upper Save, their small camp was fired into by the Wa-Sore on the night of November 20. It was the same district, under the chief Wembi, that was constantly breaking out and giving trouble, and once again these natives had to be punished for their aggressive behaviour. On the morning of the 21st, leaving their baggage behind in camp under a suitable guard, Tracy and Ferguson, moving out with a punitive force, descended to the plateau below, on which the Wa-Sore huts and villages were situated. The natives, as usual, fled, and took refuge in a cave, which, unfortunately, could not be discovered. Their huts were burnt, and the grain stored in their granaries removed. Whilst the work of destruction was being carried out, large bands of natives collected, and became most defiant and threatening until eventually put to flight again.

The Swahili trading caravan under Sheriff and Mahomed, who had made Save their base for the past three years, had finally abandoned their stockade, and returned to Mumia's *en route* to the coast.

On November 20 Bright left for Mumia's with some sixty or seventy men, the majority of whom were to return from that place in order to assist in the transportation of all the

A View on the Victoria Nyanza.

expedition equipment, etc., when the final move from Mount Elgon was to be made, on the arrival of the Headquarter Column at Save. The following day Tracy and Ferguson joined me after their tour of inspection, and, as no further news of Macdonald had been received, I decided to start off in a day or two for Bukora.

We moved down to the Lower Save post on the 22nd, and next day organized a column of some 130 men, including 110 rifles, made up of the Sikhs and a Maxim, a section of Sudanese, and the remainder Swahilis. Tracy and I were accompanied, in addition, by 70 donkeys, 60 goats and sheep, 2 camels, and 6 cows, and carried some 60 bags of flour, 9 boxes of ammunition, and 2 or 3 of beads. Leaving Ferguson in command at the base, we were off early on the morning of November 24, and marched some nine and a half miles in a north-easterly direction across an open grassy plain towards Mount Dabasien. For the first three miles we followed the well-worn track east towards the Mugoret stream. On reaching the Kiboko River, out on the plains, we came upon a large area of swampy ground, midst which an elephant was disporting himself, not far from where camp was pitched. Tracy and I went after him, but he made off towards a belt of small mimosa-trees, and we lost him for a time. However, plunging with considerable difficulty through long coarse grass, much pitted with great indentations of these animals' feet, we eventually came upon his tracks, and followed it for some distance. Then suddenly I caught sight of him again amongst the mimosa, and beckoned to Tracy. The wind was favourable to our approach, and there the elephant stood, flapping his enormous ears backwards and forwards, quite ignorant of pending danger—a magnificent and imposing sight.

Taking advantage of cover afforded by small thorn scrub, we crept carefully up to him in the long grass, and when only some thirty yards distant from the unsuspecting brute, I

fired at a point in his head between the ear-hole and eye. Tracy fired immediately after, and, uttering a shrill trumpet of pain, the elephant made as though intending to charge us, with trunk uplifted and ears spread out. He rapidly changed his mind, whisked round, trotted off a short distance, and again stood, looking exceedingly uncomfortable. We followed him up, but for some time were unable to get another shot at him, as he was extremely restless. Eventually he began to make off rapidly towards the foot of the low outlying spurs of Dabasien, and we both fired. This turned him, and he started off at a smart trot in a direction at right angles to the previous one, with trunk aloft, evidently trying to get our wind. This time we brought him down, and finished him off as he made frantic efforts to recover his legs. A dead elephant is a mighty sight, and one cannot help being struck with a certain amount of awe at its massive proportions. Men were sent off from camp subsequently to cut out his tusks—a long operation—which was not completed until nearly dark.

Marching from the Kiboko River next day, we still continued in a north-easterly direction across the grassy plain, interspersed here and there with mimosa-trees, and camped near the foot of two twin cones, or earth-boils, at the base of Mount Dabasien. We were now close to the lower slopes of this rugged mountain, whose highest peak attains an altitude of 9,700 feet, whilst the topmost ridge is a conglomeration of rocky crags and bluffs of most striking outline. The lower slopes were covered with green shrubs and grass, and wonderfully seamed and furrowed.

On reaching our camping-ground we came across nine Swahilis, who were carrying letters from Macdonald to Save, and we gathered from them that they had left Bukora a few days previously, where the Headquarter Column was halted, purchasing food from the Wa-Karamojo for the foodless journey back to the base. A few nights before we met,

one of this party of runners had been killed by a lion, and, although his comrades had fired some forty shots at the brute, it got clear away with its victim. Next morning the mail party continued towards our base, whilst Tracy and I resumed the march, with a view to joining Macdonald at Manimani.

Still proceeding in a north-easterly direction at the foot of the mountain, we crossed several dry nullah-beds, all of which in the rainy season enter the Kiboko ultimately. The country traversed alternated between open grass and tracts of bush and mimosa, whilst some eight and a half miles from the twin cone camp we passed through a prominent gap in a long spur, the pass being closed on both sides by precipitous rocky bluffs 70 to 100 feet in height. Here we struck, by our short-cut, the circuitous route Macdonald was forced to make to reach this point in July in avoiding the intervening swampy grass-land. Some three and a half miles further on we came on a beautiful stream which issues from Dabasien through a large valley and flows in an easterly direction across the plain towards the Turkwel. The banks were thickly wooded, and under some magnificent shady sycamores we found an ideal camping-ground. The air on these Karamojo plains is singularly bracing and fresh, and tramping on the march was a positive pleasure, after the valley of the Turkwel to the east of the Chemorongi Mountains. There we had found the climate most enervating during our journey to and from Lake Rudolf.

On November 27 we marched a distance of some fifteen miles, the first eleven of which were generally in a northerly direction along the foot of the many spurs radiating from the mountain. Having by that time rounded the most northerly spur, during the last four miles we swung more to the west across a grassy plain, and camped on the bank of a rocky nullah-bed, in which many pools of water were collected. From this point we obtained an uninterrupted

view north towards Mount Moroto, which attains a height of some 10,000 feet, A series of peaks extends from this mountain to the Turkwel, whilst to the east was the conspicuous Chemorongi range, the prominent peaks of which were common to both Macdonald's and my surveys, and enabled us to connect up our respective works and secure cross checks. All the streams crossed now on until the district of Manimani is reached flow east to join the main valley at the foot of the Chemorongi Mountains. This runs south and enters the Turkwel near the base of a conspicuous cathedral-shaped hill, an outpost of the mountains, through which the Turkwel winds its course before entering the Ngaboto plains.

We were now expecting shortly to meet the Headquarter Column, so the following day only made a short march of some two miles to the Lomoputhi River, which appeared to flow in an easterly direction from the Kamalinga Hills. Here, shortly before 11 a.m. on the morning of November 30, we were met by mail runners from the Major bearing urgent despatches to our base at Save, which were to be at once forwarded to Mr. Berkeley and Sir Arthur Hardinge. Another letter was for me, and contained the terribly sad news regarding the treacherous murder of poor Kirkpatrick by the Nakwai people. On the possibility of my having reached Save, Macdonald ordered me to proceed at once to his assistance with such men and food as I could bring, as he considered it not unlikely that the Uganda mutineers might have to be reckoned with. Fortunately, we were already on our way to obtain information regarding the Headquarter Column, so, whilst the runners proceeded with all speed to Save, Tracy and I immediately struck camp and started off for Bukora.

We marched all that afternoon until nearly dark, and were on the road again by 4 a.m. the following morning, being favoured by a good moon. Before 11 a.m. we had

reeled off the remaining sixteen miles to Manimani, and reached the site of the Major's former camp. Our general direction lay a little to the west of north over this undulating plateau until we reached the broad, sandy bed of the Manimani stream, in which we obtained water by digging. As we approached this spot we came across many small hamlets of the Wa-Karamojo, whilst flocks of goats and sheep and herds of cattle and donkeys were seen grazing about. These hamlets were very neat structures, consisting of several small huts of a primitive type, built entirely of twigs and grass, beehive in shape, the whole being surrounded by a species of hurdle-work fence constructed of thorns. The interior space is again subdivided into other partitions in a similar manner, separating the different flocks and herds when pounded at night-time. We had now for the first time reached the populated districts of Karamojo, the men of which were magnificent specimens of humanity, of great stature, and possessing grand chests and limbs. Their reputation for courage is high, and even the truculent Turkana regard these warriors with considerable fear. And, indeed, with some reason, for a Karamojo warrior is a very striking sight, with his felted hair-bag decked with ostrich feathers, his iron collar, and ivory bracelets. He carries two spears, which he utilizes either for stabbing or throwing, a knobkerry, and an oblong shield made of hide, whilst the circular wrist-knife is also very generally worn. In appearance they very closely resemble their easterly cousins, but are very friendly, frank, and outspoken, and do not resort to the treacherous subterfuges which are so common amongst the Turkana. The women are decently clothed in skins, but, like those of the Turkana, are very much smaller than the men. They appear, however, to have more latitude allowed them in Karamojo, as marriage is not merely a matter of barter, and if a girl rejects her suitor, her refusal is absolute.

Continuing our march on December 2, we now trended more in a westerly direction, and after covering some nine and a half miles again camped on the bank of the Akinyo River, which, rising in Mount Moroto, flows generally west towards Lake Kirkpatrick. Throughout the march the country had been less close than hitherto since leaving Dabasien, large open clearings and park-like tracts existing in places. A considerable number of hamlets had been passed, and the inhabitants appeared rich in flocks of goats and sheep, and possessed fair numbers of cattle and donkeys, whilst camels also are obtainable nearer Moroto. Grain food seemed to be grown only in comparatively small quantities hereabouts, and, although the soil is nothing like so arid as in Turkana, Karamojo lacks water to make it a really fertile country.

The natives everywhere were exceedingly friendly, and lined the track as we passed near kraals in order to see the caravan pass along and shout their 'Kumala' ('Good-bye') after us. At several places we saw whole villages gathered on the banks of large artificial tanks, constructed for the storage of their water-supply, as the streams crossed were generally quite dry.

A long march of some fifteen and a half miles in a north-westerly direction the following day over more or less open country—fine grazing-grounds for domestic animals, and occupied here and there by scattered hamlets—brought us at length to Macdonald's camp in the Bukora district. Our advent was unexpected, and it was some little time before those of the Headquarter Column quite realized who or what this column was that was approaching. Their doubts were soon, however, set at rest when the Sikhs at the head were discerned, and we were warmly greeted by our chief, McLoughlin, and Pereira.

We now learned everything regarding the treacherous murder of poor Kirkpatrick, and the heavy punishment that

had been meted out to the Nakwai people. Many other details regarding the travels and experiences of the Headquarter Column we were also made acquainted with during the day, such as I have already given a bare outline of in previous chapters. A return to Save was now decided on, so both columns commenced the journey south the following morning, December 4. The deserted Manimani post was reached on the 5th, and whilst Macdonald and the Headquarter Column continued to Save, Tracy and I halted on the 6th to rest our men. During this halt Tracy, who was a *persona grata* with the Karamojo natives, amongst whom he had spent some considerable time during the past year, prevailed on the natives to organize a big dance, for which about 100 men and women turned up. It was a most interesting performance, and was kept up with great spirit for some five to six hours. Needless to say, we did not sit the whole affair out, but when these really charming people began to get a bit fagged out, the performers were presented with six goats and sheep, which they immediately slaughtered, and indulged in an *al fresco* meal under the trees just outside camp.

I need enter into no detailed account of the journey back to Save, where the Headquarter Column arrived on December 12, followed next day by my small one. I will therefore close this chapter by a brief account of what work had been carried out at the base by Ferguson during our absence.

On our departure for Bukora, Ferguson returned from the Lower Save camp, whither he had accompanied us, and immediately continued the purchase of the large amount of food necessary to enable the entire expedition to traverse the uninhabited country lying between Save and Ketosh. The collection of food had for some time been difficult, as during the previous year some 4,000 loads of banana flour had been drawn from Save and the neighbouring districts, which had practically exhausted the available

supply. New districts had therefore to be tapped, of which the principal one was Kebewa, between Mbai and Lagin. Friendly relations were established with the chief of this district and other neighbouring ones, who were promised presents should their people bring in food quickly for sale. In all some twenty small markets were established, at which food was purchased and thence conveyed by the natives to the nearest post on payment. Here they were made up into loads, and carried by Swahilis and natives from Mbai, Lagin, and Kebewa to Save. All this required much supervision on the part of Ferguson, as the tastes of the natives varied from day to day; sometimes they would require beads, at others cowries, and, again, either meat or wire, in exchange for their flour. At length, after some seventeen days' laborious work, 650 bundles of flour were collected, which enabled the once more concentrated expedition to rest several days at Save before marching to Mumia's.

During this period the restless Wa-Sore had again commenced their aggressive tactics, and, having on two occasions seriously interfered with the carriers on their way to and from Save, Ferguson was compelled to take active measures against them. He accordingly marched with a punitive column to Wembi's district, and camped close to that chief's village. Messengers sent to him and other sub-chiefs returned with the information that Wembi had run away, and that the others refused to visit camp or allow food to be brought in for sale. Ferguson then proceeded alone with his gun-bearer to try and induce these natives to listen to reason, and explained that he wished to make friends with them and purchase food, but, at the same time, they must clearly understand he would allow no interference with other friendly natives carrying food for the use of the expedition. The natives promised to bring Wembi into camp, and also flour for sale, but these promises were not fulfilled.

About 8 a.m. next morning large numbers of Wa-Sore

began to collect on the surrounding hill-slopes, and horns were sounded in all directions, and it at once became evident that they intended taking hostile action of some sort. Ferguson fell in his men ready, strengthened the camp zeriba, posted pickets to guard against surprise, and prepared to act as occasion might demand.

In a short time the head of a column of natives carrying flour from Mbai to Save appeared in sight, and as these approached the base of the steep cliffs overlooking the track, it was seen that the Wa-Sore were fitting arrows to their bows, whilst other parties were moving up through the bush to intercept the food column. It was necessary to move out to their defence. Word at the same time was brought in from the pickets stating that the Wa-Sore were collecting in large numbers, and gradually drawing towards the camp from below and on the right flank.

Leaving one detachment for the protection of the camp, Ferguson moved out with two others to drive off the threatening natives. One band had already commenced to attack the carriers, so he proceeded against them, leaving Farag Effendi and his Sudanese to deal with those approaching the camp. The former, some 200 to 300 strong, had selected an admirable position overlooking the track, but were quickly put to flight by a few well-directed volleys, and concealed themselves in bush, whence they discharged poisoned arrows, one of Ferguson's men being wounded.

The bush was eventually cleared, but the natives on the cliffs above hurled spears and fired arrows on the attacking force, until they were eventually dispersed by a flank attack on their position, which entailed scaling up precipitous rocks. This point attained, volleys were fired at a dense mass of natives approaching with the intention of reinforcing those who had been driven off. All the Wa-Sore were cleared out of the bush, the food convoy joined, and escorted past this spot.

Meanwhile Farag Effendi was busy, his section firing heavily, so Ferguson proceeded to his assistance. His arrival was timely, for the small party of Sudanese were nearly surrounded; but after some brisk firing the Wa-Sore wavered and ran. During the pursuit one prisoner was captured, and the position of their place of refuge—the usual cave—ascertained, and found with considerable difficulty. Leaving a guard above its mouth, Ferguson and a party of men climbed down to the entrance, which proved to be merely a long horizontal fissure in the face of the cliff, and could only be entered by the men crawling on their hands and knees. When within, the cave was seen to be one of great extent, from the inner recesses of which the natives discharged arrows safe from rifle fire, as they remained concealed behind large boulders and lay in cracks and crevices.

Eventually they retired and disappeared up numerous tunnels radiating from the main chamber of the cave. Three of their number were captured, amongst whom was the truculent chief Wembi, who was kept a prisoner until the expedition left Save. A number of goats and sheep and some cattle were also seized, and, hoping that the punishment the Wa-Sore had received would have a salutary effect in the future, Ferguson returned to camp. In the attack on the cave one of the Sudanese corporals was killed, whilst gallantly handling his section of men, by an arrow which pierced his throat, and three other men were wounded.

The Wa-Sore gave no further trouble, and before the expedition left for the Uganda road again had entirely changed their tactics, and brought in food for sale.

CHAPTER XVII

RETURN OF THE EXPEDITION TO MUMIA'S

ON December 15, 1898, with the exception of Bright and a few men at Mumia's, the whole expedition was concentrated on and about Mount Elgon, as some thirty men, who had assisted in the transportation of the steel boat to Mumia's returned on that day from Kavirondo. These men brought a letter from Bright, in which the latter acquainted me of the arrangements he had made regarding the collection of food in Ketosh and Kavirondo, and also as to having agreed to purchase some 250 loads of flour from a trader—Hoare by name—who was to receive an anna a pound for all he supplied. Ferguson was still up in the Mbai district purchasing food, for the carriage of which to the Lower Save post men of the other columns were being sent up.

With a veiw to a possible subsequent advance north, it had been Macdonald's intention to locate the Sudanese under Pereira on the Elgon spurs temporarily; but these plans he had to abandon from various causes. On arrival at Save he found that the reserve trade goods of beads and other articles were nearly exhausted. This was due to the increase in the local prices asked for flour, and also to the fact that these goods had necessarily been left largely to the care of Swahilis, who are somewhat prodigal in the matter of expenditure, and were both unavoidable. He further now learned that the second year's supply of trade goods, indents for which had been sent down to the coast from Fort Smith in August, 1897, had not yet reached Mumia's.

We subsequently found them all stacked at Fort Smith on our arrival there in February, 1899; beyond that place they had not been forwarded, as almost the entire available transport along the Uganda road had been requisitioned for conveying up the tons upon tons of rations necessary for the maintenance of the Baluch Regiment in Uganda. The Government station at Mumia's could not assist us in the matter of trade goods, for they themselves were extremely short of these necessities. Macdonald had previously deposited with the chief at Titi all the surplus food he had with his column in view of a fresh advance, and had fed the column on its return journey by bartering cows in exchange for goats and sheep, and these again in exchange for grain, with the Karamojo natives. To prepare for this fresh advance the Sudanese escort under Pereira, and a few Swahilis who had volunteered to prolong their engagement, were to be left at Save. The greater majority of the remaining Swahilis of the expedition also agreed to take on service again for another two years, provided they were given a few weeks' leave at the coast to see their families. As, however, it would now be impossible to maintain the column at Save for lack of trade goods wherewith to purchase food, Macdonald decided to withdraw the intended garrison from that place and locate it at Mumia's, whilst the remainder of the expedition proceeded to the coast. It was subsequently arranged that as no further exploratory work was expedient, the expedition should be broken up on arrival at Mombasa.

The march from Save to Mumia's was to be made in two columns proceeding by the route to the east of Mount Elgon. The first, consisting of some 400 men under my command, accompanied by McLoughlin and Pereira, left Save on December 18, followed two days later by the Headquarter Column under Macdonald, accompanied by Ferguson and Tracy. In order to avoid the hilly region traversed by

Osborn and myself in November, 1897, it was decided to vary the route slightly by keeping out on the plains away from the Elgon spurs, until we could strike south and cut in to our former route on the Guas' Ngishu plateau. We marched, therefore, on this day some thirteen miles east to the Lukom stream, near which Pereira got in amongst a fine herd of elephants, two of whom he hit badly and followed for a long distance, but was compelled eventually to abandon the chase, as they went clean away and were soon lost to sight.

The porters were full of zeal at the prospect of reaching the flesh-pots of Kavirondo, and, contrary to custom, were up at unearthly hours in the mornings, long before the bugle went. We used to be off in consequence before daylight, in spite of some 100 donkeys having first to be loaded. We still continued east, and camped on the ridge near a conical peak, which constitutes the Turkwel and Nile water-parting hereabouts. On December 20 we struck more south, crossed the Rarosia stream, rounded the end of the Kisimchanga spur, and camped again on the bank of the familiar Turkwel, which fortunately was only about 25 yards wide and knee-deep at this point. We now entered rather more complicated country, and followed the bank of the river along steep rocky slopes for two miles before commencing a stiff climb up a narrow valley to the top of a small broken plateau, one and a half to two miles further on. Valleys radiated to east and west, but the track skilfully piloted us approximately along the water parting, and after zigzagging about a good deal, we commenced an easy descent to a large valley. We found water in pools close to the junction of three watercourses, and altogether the present route we were following was considerably easier than the one of the previous year.

On December 22 it was bitterly cold in the early morning, owing to the high altitude of our camp, and there was not

quite the same zeal displayed by the porters in making a start. We were considerably delayed, moreover, owing to the fact that one of the women, who had accompanied her husband (a Sudanese brought from Latuka by Macdonald), was being confined. We were compelled to leave some men behind with her to bring her on when the interesting event had taken place, and marched some eleven and a half miles south over the Guas' Ngishu plateau, at the end of which we reached and camped on one of Osborn's and my old camps of the previous year. The Sudanese and the woman joined us later in the day, a fine healthy baby girl being added to our numbers. This was not the only increase to our population, as two more babies were born on the road before we eventually reached Machakos in February, and handed over the Latuka Sudanese to Colonel Hatch, commanding the East Africa Rifles. The women were extraordinarily hardy, and thought nothing of marching as usual immediately after their confinement.

We met some mail-carriers from Mumia's on this day, bearing urgent despatches to Macdonald, and a short note enclosed from Bright informed me of his successful collection of food in Ketosh and elsewhere; he hoped to have the 500 loads ready at Mumia's by the end of the month. We were now on the track followed previously by Osborn and myself, so it will be unnecessary for me to enter into any further detail regarding the nature of the country traversed.

Christmas Day we spent under the southern escarpment of Mount Elgon, and by way of celebrating our 'Siku kuu,' or high festival, three oxen were killed for the men, and as Pereira also shot a hartebeeste, they had a great feed. Our Christmas fare consisted of marrow, tinned mock turtle soup, sardines à l'huile, roast beef, and plum pudding, so the occasion had ample justice done it.

The outlying districts of Ketosh were reached on December 28, and here the men were provided with beads to make

their own commissariat arrangements to see them into Mumia's; we were joined by Macdonald and his column, who had not halted on Christmas Day as we had done. On the last day of the old year Mumia's was entered by my column, followed on January 1, 1899, by Macdonald and his men. We found the Swahili trading caravan, who had made their headquarters at Save for so long, were still here under Sheriff and Mahomed; but they were shortly leaving for Pangani, in German territory, viâ Sotik. They had some 140 frasilas (a frasila = about 35 pounds) of ivory collected, for each of which they expected to realize between 200 and 300 rupees at the coast, and as they had already sent about 100 frasilas to the coast, their three years' sojourn on Elgon and in Karamojo would result in their obtaining some 60,000 rupees for their labour.

We were now again closely in touch with Uganda, and were able to glean a considerable amount of information regarding all that had taken place in that country during our absence from it since the previous June. Renewed activity on part of the mutineers and the Waganda Mohammedans had caused no little anxiety during this interval, as Mwanga and Kabarega had successfully joined the Sudanese mutineers on the right bank of the Nile, and inroads had been made into Uganda and Unyoro and had on one occasion met with some success. It is not my purpose to follow the different operations that had been carried out with great energy and zeal against the mutineers, who were eventually driven again out of the country; but some months were still to elapse before Lieutenant-Colonel Evatt and his force fell on the remnants of the mutineers to the east of the Nile and gained a complete victory, capturing both Mwanga and Kabarega, who were in due course banished to the coast, removed to Kismayu, and quite lately transported again to the Seychelles, where they will probably end their days in peace.

The Indian contingent for Uganda, who were to relieve the Baluch Regiment, were now on their way to Kampala, and on January 4, whilst we were still at Mumia's, the first half of this contingent, consisting of some 200 Sikhs, under command of Evatt, and accompanied by three other officers —Chitty, Hornby, and Haig of the Indian Medical Service —arrived from Nandi. We met Delme-Radcliffe, of the Connaught Rangers, also at Mumia's. He was in command of one of the companies of Uganda Rifles, and had lately been despatched to punish a section of the Kavirondo tribe, who had been causing much trouble along the road, cutting up mail runners and so on. Hobley was still in charge of the Government post at Mumia's, and we received much hospitality from him and his wife during our short stay here.

There was much to be done before the journey to the coast could be continued, for which purpose the expedition, as before, was to be divided into two columns. Pereira, his Sudanese, and the Swahili volunteers were to remain at Mumia's pending further orders from home, and it was decided by Macdonald to leave with him all the reserve stores, ammunition, etc., retaining only what was absolutely necessary for the journey to Mombasa, and the greater number of the transport animals were also handed over to him. The main portion of the caravan was to proceed by the usual cart-road route through Nandi and the Ravine station to Machakos, under my command, accompanied by McLoughlin and Bright, whilst Mayes was given a transport billet by Macdonald to look after the 177 donkeys, many of which were to proceed loaded with us as far as Naivasha. Macdonald himself, with a lightly equipped force, was to leave Mumia's on January 14, accompanied by Tracy and Ferguson, and march along a new route north of the Nzoia River, to the Guaso Masa, and thence to a point on the old Guas' Ngishu road, and so to the Ravine station.

He decided to adopt this route partly to secure additional geographical information regarding the various affluents of the Nzoia, whose head waters on the slopes of Elgon had already been mapped, and also to save our few remaining cattle from possible contagion. Cattle disease was still prevalent in Kavirondo, and all our oxen, as a precautionary measure, had been left on the right bank of the Nzoia when we marched to Mumia's from Save. These animals were reported to be very scarce in Kikuyu and Machakos, owing to the great mortality of late from plague; and as it had been arranged that the Masai who had accompanied us from Fort Smith nearly eighteen months previously were to be paid partly in cattle, it was a matter of some importance that what still remained to us should be carefully preserved for this purpose. I have early in this present volume recorded the enlisting of forty Masai at Kikuyu, who throughout the expedition had done excellent service; and Macdonald felt that not only should the terms of their agreement be adhered to as regards cattle from the point of view of good faith, but he further hoped that the considerate treatment they had always received might encourage the Masai to again take service with Europeans. They would thus find a legitimate outlet for their energy, instead of indulging in their cattle-raiding propensities, which would be bound sooner or later to bring them into conflict with the Administration.

The experiment had proved a great success, and the Masai, by whom we were accompanied for about a year and a half, had shown themselves to be willing and obedient, submitting readily to the restraints of discipline, and in every way were a great acquisition to the expedition. When paid off subsequently at Kikuyu they were fully satisfied with the livestock handed over to them as the reward for their services, and naïvely remarked that it was a better business than cattle-raiding.

I much regret that I have no notes by me describing Macdonald's interesting journey over the Guas' Ngishu route back to the Uganda road at the Ravine station, and must, in default of giving some account of it, ask the reader to accompany me with the main portion of the expedition along the Uganda road towards the coast. I had three times previously either reached Mumia's or left it on my way to and from the coast, and each time proceeded by a different route, and now was to travel along a fourth not hitherto traversed by me, so was fortunate in seeing and surveying new country to me on each occasion. In 1892 Captain (now Major) Pringle, R.E., and I had reached Mumia's from Lake Naivasha, viâ Sotik, Lumbwa, and the present terminus of the Uganda Railway on the Victoria Nyanza. On our return to the coast we travelled viâ Elgeyo, Kamasia, and Njemps to Lake Nakuru. Early on the present expedition our journey viâ Njemps, Marich, and Save to Mumia's has been described, and now the best known route of all, viâ Nandi and the Ravine station, was to be traversed by me for the first time, and then along a well defined cart-road.

CHAPTER XVIII

MUMIA'S TO NGARE NYUKI ALONG THE UGANDA ROAD

On the early morning of January 6, 1899, the return journey to the coast was commenced by the main portion of the expedition, numbering some 450 souls, and accompanied by 177 donkeys, filing out of Mumia's. Being our first day on the road, after nearly a week's halt, we only marched some seven and a half miles, generally in an easterly direction, keeping to the high ground which constitutes the water parting between the Nzoia and Narogare rivers. We camped on the bank of the latter after crossing it by means of a large tree-trunk, which spanned the stream some 20 feet above the water-level. The river was there about 20 yards wide, and flowing south, before swinging west again and ultimately joining the Nzoia not far below the ferry. We passed several small villages during the march, but the country, consisting of open rolling grass-land, is almost devoid of anything that could be utilized as firewood, which has generally to be purchased from the natives.

The following day we proceeded in a south-easterly direction for some eleven and a half miles before reaching a powerful stream, which had been skilfully bridged by Sclater's road party. This stream was probably the main tributary of the Narogare, and appeared to rise in the Nandi highlands to the north-east. We had crossed two other streams, about a mile and four and a half miles respectively from our previous camp, all of which help to form the main Narogare River. The country hereabouts is a network of small

valleys running north and south, but the cart-road adheres to the various water-partings by a somewhat devious track, avoiding the majority of these depressions. Shortly before camping we met another company of the Uganda contingent, consisting of Punjabi Mohammedans, under command of Keene, also on its way to Kampala—a very fine-looking body of men. By a circuitous route we proceeded generally due east, in the shape of a great bow, travelling south-east for the first half of the march and then north-east on January 8. The country is extremely complicated, being broken by numerous valleys, which must have exercised considerably the ingenuity of Sclater and his men in selecting the best means of avoiding them. Some nine miles from the start we reached a large food store garrisoned by Somalis—at Kakamega's—in the midst of a well-cultivated and populous district. The natives there were, however, somewhat untrustworthy, as they had recently, on several occasions, speared small parties of Swahilis sent out to purchase food, and punitive columns had been despatched to deal with them. Up to this point the country generally had been fairly open, but subsequently we entered a forest belt before reaching an open grassy clearing leading to the Yala River, which flows at the bottom of a densely-wooded ravine midst forest. This stream is rapid, and at the point where a bridge had been constructed across it narrow.

We were approaching the edge of the Nandi escarpment, and were soon confronted with much more difficult country, intersected by numerous streams, all of which would appear ultimately to join the Yala. Several thick forest belts were traversed, consisting of fine tall straight trees—excellent timber, I should imagine. In order to obtain suitable grades for waggon traffic the road had necessarily to be very winding, as we rose steadily during the march, crossing one well-defined ridge, in addition to numerous less prominent spurs and valleys. Eventually we found ourselves on the

Nandi plateau, and camped on a fine grassy spur between two deep valleys. The general features of the country very much resemble those of Sotik and Lumbwa, although the deep valleys and ridges of the latter are more boldly defined. On the road we had met S. S. Bagge and J. P. Wilson, of the Uganda Protectorate Service, on their way towards Kakamega's, and after camp had been pitched we were visited by some of the Wa-Nandi, who were decently clad in skins, and the primitive nudity of Kavirondo was now left behind us. Civilization was, however, making great strides, for the previous day we had been joined by a party of Wa-Kavirondo, who had been sent after us by Hobley, as these men were anxious to proceed to the coast. Such an idea seven years before, when we were first surveying for the Uganda Railway, would have been regarded by their friends as denoting a weakening of the intellect. It was very different now, and these then but little known regions were almost teeming with life; for almost daily we had met caravans of porters, donkeys, and so on, bound for Mumia's and beyond, carrying rations, etc., for the Baluchis. Comparatively few of these porters were Swahilis, the larger majority by far being Wa-Teita and Wa-Kamba, who in the old days would never have dreamed of entering their neighbour's territory, or leaving their own villages even.

On January 10, marching almost due east for some eleven miles, we reached the Nandi post, in which Bagnall had been made a prisoner by the Sudanese mutineers when they deserted from the Ravine station. Soon after leaving our camp of the previous day we entered a dense belt of forest, in the centre of which we crossed a large stream, known as the Rakusi, which I imagine flows into the Yala. After the first seven miles we entered fine grassy undulating country, and before long sighted the post, which was situated on a plateau between two small valleys, and lying below the ridge over which the cart-road ran. There was

quite a colony of Englishmen in occupation here, consisting of Cooper and Anderson, of the Uganda Rifles, with a Somali company; Copeland, a doctor; Johnson, of the Army Service Corps, doing duty with transport on the road; and Bathurst, a civilian. The altitude of this post is some 6,000 feet above sea-level, and in many ways the surrounding country reminded one strongly of Kikuyu, the turf being short and green, and interspersed with clover—excellent grazing grounds. Some of the Wa-Nandi brought us in fine fat-tailed sheep, which they wished to exchange for our somewhat jaded female goats, which was readily agreed to, to our mutual satisfaction. We were struck, however, by the little cultivation visible, and learned that the Wa-Nandi had been in the habit of purchasing their flour from the men in the fort. Latterly, however, they had commenced growing their own crops, and brought in a few baskets of flour to camp for sale. We were very hospitably entertained during our short stay at Nandi by the officers of the garrison, of whom we saw a good deal, for we remained halted on the 11th; and as they had cultivated a most excellent vegetable garden, we obtained the luxury of fresh vegetables.

In many respects the Wa-Nandi are like the inhabitants of Sotik, with whom they would appear to be closely allied. We did not see a great number of them, but of those we did the majority of the men wore the hide-cloak jauntily across their bodies, and in their hands carried broad-bladed spears and hide shields. Their chief ornaments consist of iron wire and a few beads. Their ear-lobes are much distended to receive various articles, such as circular blocks of wood. These natives appear to be the last circumcised race met with on the road between the coast and Uganda, as this rite is not performed amongst the Wa-Kavirondo, Wasoga and Waganda, although invariably so amongst those nearer the coast, such as the Swahilis, Wa-Kamba, Masai, and Wa-Kikuyu. Further north, again, the Suk, Turkana, and

Karamojo natives dispense with the operation, whilst the natives of Mount Elgon are almost without exception circumcised. The married Wa-Nandi women are decently clothed in two hides, after the fashion of the Masai women, and indulge to a considerable extent in the use of iron wire for adorning their persons. Coils of it are worn below the knee, and again above the ankle; but the calf is not so encumbered, as this would in large measure interfere with their climbing the steep slopes of the valleys and ridges, with which Nandi is so generously provided. Bracelets of iron wire are very commonly worn, whilst beads and ornaments of iron chain frequently adorn their necks. The unmarried girls wear a cowrie belt round the waist, from which is suspended in front a small fringe of leather thongs, also decorated with cowries and beads, somewhat similar to those affected by the Sotik maidens. Speaking generally, the men, though not tall, are built on muscular lines and well-proportioned, and are a decidedly good-looking race. They are reputed to be warlike and courageous, and somewhat troublesome at times.

On January 12 we continued our journey towards the Ravine station, and marched on that day some eight and a half miles, slightly to the north of east, to a small stream spanned by a bridge. As usual, the route was a very circuitous one, keeping to the high ground and avoiding the numerous valleys, the bottoms of which are well-wooded with fine timber, whilst the country generally is open grass land. We saw no cultivation, and habitations and natives were conspicuous by their absence. The cold in the early mornings on this high plateau was very great, and even at midday, with a powerful sun overhead, the air was most fresh and invigorating, and I am sure the climate is quite as healthy as one could well expect to find anywhere out of Europe or America. Personally, I am a great believer in the possibilities of this part of Africa regarding coloniza-

tion—certainly so far as a healthy climate is concerned. But for some years to come there will be difficulties in connection with the Labour Question and others, before the country can conscientiously be recommended to intending colonizers as likely to repay initial outlay.

The following day a short march nearly due east, over rolling grass-land, brought us to a small stream near Donyo Leso, where we camped on the side of a low ridge. Ascending steadily next day over similar country, we dived every now and then through tracts of dense forests of fine tall trees, avoiding thickly-wooded ravines to right and left of the track, whilst the summits of other ridges skirted were also heavily timbered. To the north of us and some four or five miles distant, was the southern limit of the great Guas' Ngishu plain, extending north as far as the eye could see, towards dim distant ranges of hills lying between us and the Elgon mass. This plain thereabouts was known to the Swahilis as Langata la Nyuki. Shortly after leaving camp on the morning of January 15 we met Rattray with the last of the four companies of the Indian contingent, on his way to Uganda. He was accompanied by Doctor Donald, and the whole of the baggage, etc., was being transported by an Italian syndicate utilizing mules and carts. We met several other Europeans during the day, who were earning a livelihood by carrying loads in small donkey and other carts up and down the Uganda road.

About eight and a half miles from the start we reached the highest point the Uganda road passes over, at an altitude of some 8,300 feet above sea-level, near a prominent grassy knoll, beyond which in a deep hollow is a small swampy lake. For a considerable portion of the march we traversed fine open rolling grass country, whilst the bottoms of the numerous valleys to one side or other of the cart-road were densely wooded, and the track itself penetrated several belts of forest growth, in which bamboos and cedars abound.

We had now crossed the summit of the great Mau escarpment, and the subsequent streams met with, instead of ultimately finding their way to the Victoria Nyanza, now started on their journey towards Lake Baringo. We camped for the day just beyond a thick growth of bamboos, on a grassy spur overlooking a deep ravine, into which we descended at once next morning. As camp was being struck we obtained a very distant and momentary glimpse of the striking peak of Mount Kenia away to the east, before the rising sun rapidly obscured it from view again.

The remainder of our march of some eleven miles to the Ravine station was generally through thick forest. We crossed a small stream about five miles before reaching the station, and again another stream at the foot of the isolated knoll on the summit of which the Government station had been constructed. We found James Martin, who had accompanied Thomson through Masailand, awaiting us at the camping-ground, and after camp had been pitched we lunched with him and his wife in the fort. Major Eric Smith was in command of the Government station, and I resumed my acquaintance with him of some seven years before, when he and Purkiss had been together at Fort Smith in Kikuyu. The great influx of Europeans during recent years into the country had to a large extent detracted considerably, in his opinion, from the former charm of his wild surroundings, as he loved nothing so much as being alone and far from the haunts of civilized beings. In addition to Eric Smith and the Martins, we met the doctor, Cookman; Arbuthnot, commanding half a company of the Uganda Rifles; and Fisher, in charge of the transport station located at the Ravine. We remained halted on January 17, and were conducted round the places of former interest in the immediate neighbourhood, and, as usual, received much hospitality from all the officers residing in the station.

From the summit of the hill on which the station is built a most glorious and extended view is obtained of the surrounding country, the altitude of this spot being some 7,500 feet above sea-level. On fine clear days Mount Kenia and Lake Baringo are plainly discernible, as well as a great extent of the lofty Lykipia escarpment and the Kamasia range. At this point the Mau escarpment, which continues for so far south, in a northerly direction branches out into two long arms, the more westerly one of which is known as the Elgeyo escarpment, and the easterly one as Kamasia. In the deep valley between these two mountain ranges flows the Kerio River, which, after a northerly course of some 200 miles, finds its way to Lake Rudolf, although it is doubtful if its waters ever enter that great reservoir; for, like the Turkwel, it is most probable that they gradually become absorbed by the inhospitable desert through which the course of the river runs before the lake shores are at length reached. In the immediate neighbourhood of the station several striking ravines exist, through which the streams have cut their way towards Lake Baringo, and from which the station takes its name.

A number of stores formerly left here during the mutiny operations were taken over by us, and in order to ease our transport—for we had already lost about twenty donkeys from the intense cold to which they had recently been subjected—I was able, with Major Smith's approval, to hand him over a certain amount of flour, in return for which I was to draw a similar amount from the Naivasha post. No cultivation exists in this part of the country, and the Ravine and Naivasha posts were to a great extent dependent on the fertile Kikuyu highlands for their food-supply, the Wa-Kikuyu bringing down flour to the Naivasha post, which in turn forwarded this necessity to the Ravine.

During our halt one of our Latuka Sudanese committed suicide by shooting himself in the throat with his rifle whilst

seated in his tent about mid-day. At the time we could ascertain no cause for this act beyond the fact that the man was said to have been sick for some time, and suffering from some chest complaint. Two days later, however, shortly before the usual evening 'fall in,' our Swahili native officer, Halfan, accompanied by the sergeant of the Latuka men, came up to report that one of these had threatened to shoot his sergeant. On investigating the case, it appeared that the accused was the brother of the man who had committed suicide. This, he assured me, had been done owing to the sergeant having bewitched the man by casting a spell over him. He was so incensed, therefore, regarding the death of his brother that he had used menacing words towards his superior. The Sudanese are so extraordinarily superstitious in the matter of spells and the evil-eye that it would be quite impossible to shake their belief regarding the power that one man may possess over others, so it was not much use arguing on the subject. The accused was told, however, that now he had accepted Government service he must at once remove the idea from his head that he could take the law into his own hands; but, as a safeguard, he was deprived of his rifle and ammunition, and for some time made to sleep at night under the guard until his frame of mind had improved.

A short march of about eight and a half miles from the Ravine brought us once more to Ngare Nyuki, or Equator Camp. There it will be remembered in September, 1897, the whole expedition had been concentrated prior to leaving the Uganda road, and here we had been joined by the Sudanese escort, who had subsequently caused so much trouble, and were responsible for Uganda passing through one of the most critical periods of its history. We were back on the old familiar spot, and much had been gone through and seen since we had marched out of this camp some sixteen months before. The round trip having now

been completed, I was able to obtain a respite from further survey work, and indulge to some extent in shooting on the road, during the remainder of our journey to the coast. We learned that food was very scarce in Kikuyu and Machakos, owing to the great famine caused by the exceptional drought this season, the harvest in Ukambani having utterly failed. It seemed unlikely, therefore, that we should be able to maintain ourselves at Machakos whilst awaiting the arrival of Macdonald and his column before resuming our march to the coast. Eric Smith reported that he hoped some 50,000 pounds of flour were stored at Naivasha, of which I was to draw 3,410 pounds in return for what I had handed over to him at the Ravine. I asked that I might be allowed to draw 10,000 pounds, in order to halt a week or so round Naivasha, awaiting Macdonald, before pushing on to the famine-affected districts; to this he assented, provided there still remained at least 40,000 pounds for his requirements.

CHAPTER XIX

NGARE NYUKI TO MACHAKOS

THE first march out of Ngare Nyuki took us clear of the hills, and we camped on the bank of a small stream, about a mile and a half beyond the Molo River, on the edge of the undulating prairie of the great Meridional Rift, in which game is generally so abundant. Lake Nakuru was reached on January 21, and we saw much game, consisting of zebra, hartebeeste, grantii, thomsoni, ostriches, etc.; but there was absolutely no cover, and owing to the frequent caravans passing up and down the road these animals had become excessively wild since former days, so it was almost impossible to approach them within reasonable range. By the time we reached Kampi Mbaruk, at the north end of Lake Elmenteita, I had only succeeded in getting one grantii and one thomsoni. We found the railway people had built a large store at this place, on one of the most picturesque spots, to my mind, in all East Africa, and we dined in the evening with Mr. Bass, who was in command of the survey section of this portion of the line. Several Masai kraals were now established close to the northern margin of the lake, where they were grazing magnificent herds of cattle and flocks of goats and sheep.

At Kariandus, on the eastern margin of Lake Elmenteita, we met Swayne, of the Uganda Indian contingent, on his way to Kampala on a bicycle, and were overtaken on the river Gilgil by Dr. Ayres of Mumia's, who was going home sick. Naivasha post was reached by us on January 25,

after we had passed amongst thousands and thousands of splendid Masai sheep and goats. These warriors were evidently in a most flourishing condition, and had to a large extent escaped the cattle plague, which had lately devastated the oxen along the Uganda road employed on transport work. Moreover, they had recently returned from a most successful raid on the Masai residing in German territory, from whom they had captured enormous herds of cattle, and were in consequence particularly pleased with themselves. At the Naivasha post we found Gorges of the Uganda Rifles in command, with a very smart half-company of Swahilis, his other half-company being stationed at the Ravine. Numbers of Masai women flocked into camp during the day, bringing firewood and milk for sale. We obtained the 10,000 pounds of flour from Gorges, and as the donkeys, of which we had lost over forty through death since leaving Mumia's, were not to proceed at once to Kikuyu, I decided to send some seventy men there to deposit the donkey loads at that place, and then rejoin us.

During their absence we intended having a little shooting at the south-west corner of the lake, which is off the beaten track, so, leaving the bulk of our loads under charge of the Sikhs near the post, we marched off with the remainder of the column on the 27th. Following the lake shore closely for some eight and a half miles, we camped just beyond a large wood of acacias. Game was abundant hereabouts, and after camp was pitched we all went off for a shoot. Soon after leaving I knocked over a nice little thomsoni buck, but obtained nothing else for some time, although I followed a herd of hartebeeste for a considerable distance. Eventually one of these fell to my rifle whilst he stood facing me some 250 yards distant. He dropped like a stone with a bullet through his throat, and another one standing by him seemed so interested in the fate of his comrade that, after galloping off, he returned again to see what was the

matter. Meanwhile I had not moved, but lay concealed in a fold in the ground, so fired at this one, which presented a broadside shot. He fell within 10 feet of the other one, all crumpled up, but after strenuous efforts recovered his feet and ambled off another 300 yards or so, going very sick. He allowed me to approach within 200 yards facing me, and I was fortunate to drop him dead also. I now sent a man back to camp to bring out others to cut up and remove the meat, and as McLoughlin also succeeded in bagging a zebra, we had plenty of meat for the caravan.

I decided to leave Mayes here in charge of the donkeys and their attendants, and the Latuka men and their wives were also to remain, whilst McLoughlin, Bright, and I moved further along the lake to obtain some shooting on the Ndabibi plain at the south-west corner of the lake. We marched, therefore, the following day, and found game very plentiful. With the exception of thomsoni they were all very wild, but, as I especially wanted some good grantii heads, I refrained from shooting at those lovely little gazelle. On the plains, however, the grantii would not let us approach within reasonable distance, and it was by mere chance I eventually detected the white stern of one of these animals in rough broken ground amongst the low hills bordering the south end of the lake. Wind and cover favoured an easy stalk, so Mwinyaheri (my gun-bearer) and I crept behind low knolls at the edge of a nullah, and when I thought we had gone far enough we cautiously climbed up the slope and peered over, and there, within 200 yards, was a fine buck quietly browsing. I fired, but hit him too far back, and only succeeded in breaking one of his hind-legs high up at the thigh. To my astonishment, two other bucks jumped up, one of which had the finest horns of that species I have shot. He stood facing us from near his stricken comrade, and I brought him down dead with a bullet through the base of his throat. The wounded one limped painfully off on

to the plain below, and there lay down, and we secured him also later on.

Our surroundings were truly charming, the views being delightful looking across the narrow bay we had reached, which was studded with numerous islands of floating papyrus. Near the shore the surface of the water was covered with water-lilies, midst which ducks and geese were placidly swimming about, together with pelicans and other water-birds—a quiet, peaceful spot, which we much appreciated after all we had been through. We pitched our camp some ten and a half miles from where we had left Mayes, on the margin of the lake, close to a grove of acacias, and made this our headquarters for the next few days. As Bright had also succeeded in shooting a hartebeeste, we again had sufficient meat in camp to give all the men some that evening. We were combining business with pleasure during this rest, for the pay-sheets of the men of the expedition had to be prepared against our return to the coast, and when not out shooting we were busy on these complicated and detailed lists.

On the early morning of January 30 Bright and I sallied out to enjoy a little sport, and when we reached the head of the bay came upon some grantii and thomsoni, Bright securing one of the former and I one of the latter. Subsequently we got in amongst some guinea-fowl—a very large species, with high, prominent bony comb at the top of the head—of which four fell to my gun and one to Bright's. Then some hartebeeste came down to drink at the lake, and when satisfied cleared over the low hills on to the open Ndabibi plain beyond, we following. We now saw grantii as well, and separated, for Bright wanted a good specimen of the latter, so I continued after the hartebeeste. These disappeared over a low ridge, and when I reached the top I saw they had moved off in Bright's direction, so descended towards a thick grove of acacias, beyond which a herd of

zebra was grazing. On entering the grove I found it simply alive with game, chiefly grantii and thomsoni, and was about to fire at a fine buck of the former which was only about eighty yards distant, when a lovely impalah gracefully bounded into sight about 120 yards beyond, and stood in the open. I wanted him badly, so levelled my rifle at him instead and fired. My view was obscured by brushwood, and I missed him clean, and off he went. For a long time I hunted for him and others of his tribe, and, after scouring every grove within a radius of two miles, at length spotted him with some grantii. I could not approach nearer than 250 yards, so was compelled to fire at that range. He was hit too far back, and went off slowly, I following, when suddenly four more splendid bucks and a doe jumped into sight and joined him. For miles I danced over the plain after those animals, as the wounded one looked very sick, but eventually I lost them entirely, much to my disgust. The plain was swarming with game, and zebras were there in hundreds. At length, abandoning the chase after the impalah, I knocked over a fine zebra stallion, and, Bright joining me again, we decided now to make for camp, as we had plenty of meat and it was getting late. We had had nothing to eat since 6 a.m., and it was past 2 p.m., so the zebra was cut up, and eight men were required to carry in his meat.

Next morning we all three went out to shoot on the Ndabibi plain, on which we separated. Bright went off to the left to look for a grantii which he wounded the previous day, and which he secured this time, as well as a thomsoni. He also came across my wounded impalah, but was unable to bag it. McLoughlin took a central route up the plain, and I kept to much the same ground as the previous day, as I was anxious to shoot an impalah. I had not gone far before I came across one of these graceful creatures, but he spotted me as soon as I him, and bounded in the most beautiful manner out of sight, amongst acacias.

This day I must in all have seen quite fifty to sixty impalah; at one time a big herd of them, which I was after, joined some zebra, which stood between me and these animals. I killed one zebra for meat, and then the whole crowd thundered off. However, I at length got one of these heads that I so much coveted, and was now satisfied, so when he was cut up rejoined the men, who had been left to cut up the zebra, and trekked for camp.

En route we put up numbers of guinea-fowl, and I know few places in Africa where these delightful eating birds are so plentiful as on the Ndabibi plain. They were really a positive nuisance when one was attempting to stalk antelope. Time after time my schemes had been frustrated when approaching impalah unseen, dodging behind clumps of acacias, etc., by these noisy birds suddenly getting up with their harsh discordant cackle, and acquainting animals within a radius of half a mile or so of impending danger. I took change out of them now on the way home, when no longer using my rifle, and knocked over six of them for the pot in addition to a red-legged partridge. I had tramped twenty-one miles in all before I reached camp shortly after 3.30 p.m.; but I had got my impalah, and this was to be our last day halted on this spot.

On February 1 we marched back to Mayes, and found that he had enjoyed considerable sport also, and kept the men in meat by shooting zebra and hartebeeste. Even during the few days we had been absent, the donkeys had picked up wonderfully, and were already different-looking animals to what they were at the Ravine. The place evidently agreed excellently with them, so I decided to leave them there with Mayes and some twenty men until Macdonald's arrival at Naivasha, when our Chief could finally dispose of them as he thought best. Whilst out on the Ndabibi plain shooting, McLoughlin had made a most interesting discovery, as he came across a large crater up in some low

hills not far from the margin of the lake. On reaching the summit of one of these, he was confronted with a deep cavity some 400 yards in diameter, and about 150 feet below the rim of the crater was a huge pool or small lake, not less than 300 yards in diameter, the steep slopes down to which were thickly wooded.

We returned to the Naivasha post on the morning of February 2, and dined up in the fort that evening with Gorges and McAllister. On the 4th we set out for Kikuyu. As the march to the Upper Kedong camp was a long and hot one of about eighteen miles, we started the Latuka men and women off the previous afternoon to camp for the night near Longonot, and followed ourselves with the bulk of the column at 4 o'clock the next morning, marching by moonlight for some time. By eight we had covered eleven miles and gave the men a rest, but they were anxious to be off again before the order to continue was given, and began to gather up their loads as a gentle hint they had rested long enough after a few minutes. The remaining seven miles were reeled off, and we reached the camping-ground before 11 a.m., the men travelling excellently. We found the Latuka lot already comfortably settled down awaiting our arrival, and also that the telegraph line had been extended to this point, near which a large telegraph camp was stationed. We were beginning, therefore, to notice the strides that had been made towards the Great Lake by railway and telegraph during the past eighteen months, and through the courtesy of Mr. Caine were able to communicate direct with Hall at Fort Smith by wire, acquainting him that we should reach that place on February 7. Remembering the Kedong seven years previously, and recalling our first meeting with the great and then dreaded Masai race near this spot, it was almost pathetic to be faced with the great change which civilization had brought into this then wild region. We felt that much of the old charm of

the country must inevitably disappear before the advance of the iron road which was to link the Indian Ocean with the Great Victoria Nyanza. At the present time this has already been done, but at the time I am writing of the railway had not yet reached the Athi plains, and its effects had not yet fully been sensible to the north of Fort Smith. We were now, however, on the fringe of civilization, and actually able to open communication with the officials of the East Africa Protectorate. Next day, whilst marching down the Kedong valley to the foot of the ascent up to the Kikuyu plateau, we passed the spot which only three years before was the scene of the massacre of close on 1,000 Wa-Kikuyu porters by the Masai. Skulls and bones were still lying about close to the side of the track midst the grass and bush, and although the actual fight had taken place round the base of an isolated hill some two miles distant, these were doubtless the remains of the fleeing Wa-Kikuyu, who had been pursued and struck down by the terrible Masai spear near the road. Halfan, our Swahili native officer, was present at that fight, and in charge of this large caravan of porters; he escaped with his life after performing prodigies of valour, and with a few men keeping hordes at bay struggled back to Fort Smith with a small remnant of what had once been an imposing array. The telegraph-wire now peacefully stretched overhead from tree to tree along the route.

As a long march of some sixteen miles had to be accomplished the following day to reach the first swamp camp, some five miles short of Fort Smith, the Latuka men and women and our sick men started off in the afternoon to camp on the summit of the escarpment, but they had barely left us before we were visited by a terrific thunderstorm. We ourselves followed at 3 o'clock next morning, the 'rouse' sounding at 2 a.m., and shortly after we had made the ascent of some 1,500 feet to the summit of the escarpment we came

IN THE GREAT MERIDIONAL RIFT—THE KEDONG VALLEY.

across one of the sick men who had left the previous afternoon. The poor wretch was quite exhausted and nearly dead when we found him, as the wet and cold the previous evening had so paralyzed him that he had been unable to struggle on to the camp pitched by Halfan on the plateau. Accompanied by two askaris, he had lain out, therefore, all that night in the open, and Bright and I were over an hour in bringing him round, as we had the greatest difficulty in making a fire, owing to the lack of firewood and grass, the latter being so damp that we could not ignite it. Men were put on to rub him violently from head to foot to restore circulation, and although several times he appeared to be dead, he came to eventually, and we had him carried into the first swamp camp, where we arrived shortly after 10 a.m.

Here we found Halfan, the Latuka, and the sick already camped; but our porters were most anxious to push on to Fort Smith, so we continued the march, and reeled off twenty-one miles from the Lower Kedong camp before 1 p.m., and entered Fort Smith with drums beating and flag flying, the men being as fresh as paint in spite of the stiff climb for the first five or six miles of their tramp. In the afternoon we called on Mrs. Hall, and dined in the evening with the Halls, when we met Dr. Atkinson, who had lately accompanied Lord Delamere on his journey from Berbera to Mombasa, viâ Lake Rudolf. Hall had only recently returned from a punitive expedition against a section of the Wa-Kikuyu, who had been giving a great deal of trouble. Some of the East Africa Rifles from Machakos had been despatched to assist him, and in all the natives were deprived of about 400 head of cattle and 10,000 goats and sheep. The latter were now being auctioned off, and fetched over 5 rupees a head; but numbers of the original spoil had died through overcrowding in the bomas.

The reports we had heard regarding the scarcity of food we found to be only too true, thanks in the main to the large

colony of people settled at and round about the post, and to the frequent caravans passing through Kikuyu on the way to Uganda. The resources of the country were not now equal to the demand, and ordinary flour had fetched as high a price as 1 rupee per pound. We experienced considerable difficulty, therefore, in rationing the men, but arranged with Hall for twelve loads of rice and fifty of flour to last us in to Machakos, where we hoped that Ainsworth would have 100 loads of rice sent up from the railway to meet us. Firewood was also scarce, and in order to enable our men to cook their food they received an issue of 'ukuta' beads wherewith to purchase fuel from the natives. The Wa-Kikuyu would not look at any but these expensive beads, which had recently been put on the market, and one could not help sighing for the old days, when a string of the ordinary small black beads (about half the size of a pea) would purchase from four to five pounds of sweet potatoes, which were very filling at the price for our Swahili porters. The beads for fuel alone cost 86 rupees 4 annas—close on £6 sterling—whilst an average of 8 annas a pound was paid for the rice and flour I had to purchase, which ran up very rapidly a bill for 1,830 rupees 12 annas—over £122—to supply all our men with five days' rations! We were compelled to leave behind at Fort Smith some eight sick men, who we hoped would be sufficiently benefited by the rest to accompany Macdonald when he arrived. We also parted with the Masai, who had done such splendid service during the past eighteen months, and were to be paid off as soon as their brethren with the other column had reached Kikuyu.

Our last night we dined in the fort with the Halls, and on February 9 continued the journey to Machakos, marching some nine miles to Nairobi, outside the Kikuyu forest belt on the edge of the extensive Athi plains. McLoughlin and Bright accompanied the column at 6.30 a.m., but I had to

remain to settle accounts and various other details with Hall. I then returned with Hinde (whom I had previously met at Adventure Camp on the Athi, on our way up-country) to his camp, which was only about a mile and a half distant from ours, and lunched with him and his wife. He had lately been obliged to abandon the post at Ngongo Bagas, owing to his inability to feed his men, due to the famine in the land.

Hall had recently a great deal of extra work thrown on his hands, owing to unscrupulous Goanese and others taking up transport work from the railway to Uganda, which resulted in a hideous loss of life on the road. These scoundrels enlisted Wa-Teita, Wa-Kamba, and other natives to carry loads, and then reduced them to half-rations, as food was so dear, and compelled these wretched men to do double marches. It was Hall's duty, therefore, to check and examine every caravan that passed through Fort Smith, and, if not satisfied with the state of affairs, to refuse the contractor permission to proceed any further over the foodless regions existing between Kikuyu and Kavirondo. For instance, when we were at Fort Smith one of these caravans, under a grasping Indian's control, arrived, which only six days previously had left railhead with 120 men, chiefly Wa-Teita, carrying loads. It reached Fort Smith numbering 75, and when the papers had been examined Hall ascertained that some 45 men were missing, who had either died or could not be accounted for! It is needless to say the owner of this caravan was promptly secured and sent down on trial for gross negligence of his charge, which had resulted in this dreadful loss of life in so short a time. These same Goanese defrauded their wretched unsophisticated carriers —no Swahili would have stood it—by employing a food measure which was less than half the size of that laid down by the Government as the correct one, which should contain 1½ pounds of flour when full. We had seen the results of

this whilst crossing Mau, for we had picked up several natives in an exhausted condition, with no visible means of subsistence, whom we had fed up and who were now with us; whilst in other places the most atrocious odours denoted the presence of a corpse, which had evidently been dragged away into the bush by hyænas, and there fed upon. I am happy to say John Ainsworth dropped upon these murderous contractors, when they fell into his clutches, in a manner that left little to be desired.

As we crossed the game reserve between Nairobi and the Athi River, game was extraordinarily plentiful, and apparently quite aware that they were on holy ground, for they were most confiding, and showed little signs of fear on the approach of the caravan. We halted on the opposite bank, which was outside the reserve, the following day, to obtain a little meat for the men, and we all three went out shooting. After a long morning's hunt I secured two hartebeeste and a wildebeeste, and returned to camp, but found McLoughlin and Bright had met with no luck at all and obtained nothing, although the former had badly wounded both an impalah and hartebeeste. We continued the march towards Machakos on February 12, and camped on the old Lanjora camp between that place and the Athi. Two more hartebeeste fell to my rifle, which were a very welcome meat ration for the men. On the 13th we marched into Machakos, and were greeted by Colonel and Mrs. Hatch, who very kindly asked me in to breakfast, whilst Bright and McLoughlin went to Captain and Mrs. Justice in the fort. We were very warmly greeted also by Bilal Yan, the Sudanese officer who had done such grand work during the mutiny in Uganda under Harrison.

Afterwards I called on John Ainsworth, whom I had not met for over seven years, and then also at Machakos. He reported that the famine in Ukambani had been, and still was, extremely acute, the natives in many parts being in a

starving condition. Numbers had accordingly gone off to work on the railway to obtain their food, whilst others had taken to carrying loads in order to earn a few rupees wherewith to purchase rice or flour. Beads had almost entirely gone out of fashion at Machakos, the Wa-Kamba no longer looking at anything except the silver coinage of the realm, which at Kikuyu also, we found, was being rapidly taken to by the natives. The 100 bags of rice were ready awaiting our arrival, and seven days' issue of food was made to the men. I decided to march to the Kiboko River station on the railway, where we hoped to find more food awaiting us, for which I had wired from Kikuyu to Mombasa, to be sent up for the whole expedition—by rail. The Latuka Sudanese and their women were now to be left at this point, as they were anxious to be enlisted in the East Africa Rifles, and when Macdonald arrived, a few days after we left, he, in conjunction with Colonel Hatch, arranged everything as to their future.

Macdonald reached Kikuyu on the 13th, and wired to know where I was going to halt, so runners were sent off with the information. He was detained for several days at Fort Smith on urgent matters, as the order to break up the expedition had arrived from home, and it was the 18th, therefore, before he left Nairobi and marched to Machakos, where he arrived on the 20th.

Machakos had changed beyond all recognition since Macdonald and I had last seen it, nearly seven years before. The fort was an imposing place now, and fine avenues of blue gum-trees had been planted along the sides of the broad roads which led up to it. The fort itself was enclosed by an outer wall of stone with deep ditch in front, whilst all the Government offices and residences, built of substantial materials, were inside, Gilkinson and Tate being Ainsworth's assistants. Other bungalows of mud and stone were erected outside, and in addition to the lines of the East Africa

Rifles, a large bazaar had recently been established by Parsee and Indian traders. Ainsworth had worked wonders in the place, and had at his own expense imported plants and trees from Australia to improve the station. Behind the fort he had cultivated most extensive vegetable gardens, which are so important a feature in maintaining the good health of Europeans in Africa.

CHAPTER XX

THE RETURN TO THE COAST AND ENGLAND

ON February 15 we left Machakos for the Kiboko River station on the Uganda Railway, to reach which it was decided to proceed by the old safari (caravan) route to Nzawi Peak, and then strike across country. We marched some thirteen and a half miles on that day through the hills to Athomi. The track was a very hilly one, as we crossed numerous valleys and ridges and two large dry river-beds before arriving at the water-parting of the Kaite and Machakos streams, between two ranges of rocky hills. We camped in a fine open valley on the head-waters of the Kaite, which ran south towards Kilungu before swinging east towards the Athi, being joined *en route* by the Machakos River. The country traversed, though still pretty, was terribly parched for want of rain, and no running streams now existed, which we had formerly remembered so well, and water had to be obtained by digging in their sandy beds. Few natives were seen, as the country had been practically deserted owing to the long-continued drought and famine, whereas formerly these hills were densely populated.

We soon left the hilly track we had been following, next day, and for some ten miles proceeded in a southerly direction along the sandy bed of the Kilungu stream, in which we came at intervals upon small wells, on which the natives and their animals were dependent for their water-supply. We subsequently struck across country to avoid a big sweep the stream made to the east, round a lofty peak,

and passed through large tracts of cultivated ground, the crops being completely destroyed from want of rain. Eventually, after marching some fifteen and a half miles, we struck the broad bed of the Kaite, and camped on the summit of a narrow ridge overlooking it. Bright on rear-guard missed our tracks, and did not arrive until after 4 p.m., when men were sent out to hunt up the missing rear-guard.

Another hot march of fourteen miles brought us close to the conspicuous Nzawi Peak, some eight miles before reaching which we passed a small Government food-collecting station on the bank of the Wakufukoa, which we followed. The going had been difficult up to this point, as numerous rocky nullahs, every few hundred yards apart, had to be crossed, rising in the hills to the west of our route. Along both banks of the Wakufukoa large areas of cultivation existed, all of which were utterly destroyed by the drought, and the large population of most interesting natives I so well remembered, who used in 1892 to flock into camp, smartly turned out with white spats of beads, burnished copper coins round the forehead and neck, and so on, were now, seemingly, a thing of the past. The few natives we saw had lost all their former picturesqueness, and were soberly dressed in cloth, and lacked their pristine prosperous air, which much detracted, to my mind, from the previous charm of Ukambani. This neighbourhood used to be one mass of cultivation of all kinds, and in 1892 we had obtained quantities of flour, beans, Indian corn, bananas, sugar-cane, honey, fowls, eggs, sheep, etc., etc., and now the wretched natives were practically starving. It was a sad change. The everlasting hills and the prominent Nzawi bluff, which attains an altitude of some 6,100 feet, were still, however, there, and by them alone could one reconcile one's self to the fact that it really was the same country, of which we retained such pleasant recollections of bygone days.

We now left the old safari road leading to Kibwezi, and made a long cross-country march of some sixteen and a half miles to the Kampi ya Simba railway-station, through generally easy country consisting of open parkland and grassy glades. McLoughlin in front stumbled across two rhinos, one of which he hit very badly, but which disappeared in some dense thorn-bush. We sighted the railway-station some four or five miles before reaching it, from high ground overlooking the valley along which it pursued its course. The sight raised great enthusiasm amongst the porters, who now knew that their days of tramping wearily along with their loads would shortly be at an end, and many silver rupees jingling in their hands to spend on arrival at the coast. They immediately increased their pace, in spite of having already marched some twelve miles, and almost broke into a trot—they were splendid fellows, as we had the survival of the fittest at this stage of the expedition—covering the last four or five miles in one and a half hours. We camped near the railway-station on the bank of the small stream, and when, about 2 p.m., a luggage train whistled, and, appearing in sight, rapidly passed us on its way to the coast, a joyous shout of delight was raised. The few Wasoga and Wa-Kavirondo who had accompanied us from up-country had, of course, never before seen such a thing as a railway or train, and were considerably impressed by the novel spectacle.

I heard that evening by wire from D. J. Wilson, who said he was at the Kiboko station with the food ordered up from the coast, so informed him we would join him there on the morrow. We accordingly marched along the railway on February 19 for a distance of some eleven and a half miles. We saw plenty of game again, and I was fortunate in obtaining two wildebeeste, one of which possessed the finest head I think I have seen. This I secured by a very lucky shot. He was a magnificent bull, and not less than 350

yards distant. Standing out in front of the remainder of the herd he offered a very fair mark at, putting up my sight to 250 yards, I fired. Much to the astonishment of the men with me, who remarked he was "mbali sana" (very far), he dropped where he stood and commenced rolling about and making frantic efforts to regain his feet. Watching him through my glasses I came to the conclusion his back must be broken, as he was obviously paralysed behind. When we drew near the poor brute presented a most ferocious aspect as he raised half his body on his fore-legs and glared at us. He was evidently a very old bull with a grand mane and beard, and I quickly put him out of his suffering by placing a bullet in his neck when he rolled over dead. The first shot had smashed his spine, as I thought. He was such a large beast that I had to send off after the column for more men to bring his meat in, after camp had been pitched; this, unfortunately, proved to be still some seven miles distant. Subsequently leaving men behind to cut up and skin the animal, I pushed on with my gun-bearer after a long halt, and only met the men coming out for the meat when about three miles from camp. However, it was all ultimately got in, so the men enjoyed plenty of meat that night from the two wildebeeste.

Wilson very kindly gave us lunch at his small camp near the station, and had come up to make all arrangements for the return of the expedition to Mombasa by rail. There quarters and everything necessary for our accommodation on arrival were being prepared by Mackinnon, who was now in charge of the Uganda transport. Traces of old railway construction camps had been seen by us, all of which were surrounded by tall, formidable zeribas of thorn, for lions had so terrorized the coolies employed on the earthwork of the line that the progress of the work had been seriously interfered with. Most people at home, I fancy, regarded these reports describing the daring of the lions

along the Uganda railway as being somewhat overdrawn; but they were true, nevertheless, and these animals were the cause of considerable panic amongst the Indians, numbers of whom were killed at night.

During the next few days we worked at our accounts and enjoyed a little shooting in the neighbourhood of camp, as water-buck and other antelope were fairly abundant; and we also varied proceedings by taking a run up to rail-head in turns whilst awaiting the advent of Macdonald and his column. The rail-head was now at Kiu, and Russell visited us on February 21, so I accompanied him back there on the 22nd. Under the impression that the train left at 3 a.m., I got up at 2, woke Russell and we then routed out the native station-master, who now told us the train would not leave until 8 a.m., so we blessed him heartily for not having informed us of this fact the previous evening, and retired to snooze again until about 7. We eventually did get off at 8.30, reaching Kiu shortly after 1 p.m. A large portion of the line was still only of a temporary nature, as the permanent bridges and culverts being constructed had to be avoided by diversions and temporary structures. It was most interesting viewing the country in comfort from a railway-carriage, as we passed close to large herds of zebra, hartebeeste, and various other antelopes and ostriches, who appeared little alarmed at the approach of the now familiar train, and continued to browse unconcernedly within 200 yards of the line.

We obtained a lovely view of the snow-clad Kilimanjaro Mountain between Kampi ya Simba and Mwani, and on reaching rail-head found a huge tented city established, as several thousand people connected with the railway were under canvas there. I was able to obtain no information regarding Macdonald's movements since last I heard from him at Kikuyu, so spent the night with Russell in his camp. Next morning we trollied up the line, being towed

by an engine for some four miles, to see the construction gangs at work, and returned after a most interesting morning's sight-seeing. The return trip in the trolly was more than exhilarating, as it was all downhill. We fairly flew round most hair-erecting curves, over bridges, through deep, narrow cuttings, along high, steep banks, and only really felt safe when we had drawn up at the station site and dismounted. As I was leaving in the afternoon to rejoin the others at the Kiboko station by train, I heard that Betton, of the railway, had just received a letter from Macdonald sent from Machakos, asking for empty trucks, etc., to convey 200 men and 150 loads to the Kiboko River from Kiu on February 25. During the home run I saw a perfectly glorious sight—the sun setting on the snow-clad peak of Kilimanjaro, which appeared like a dome of burnished gold rising out of dense black clouds.

Next day the expected wire arrived from Macdonald, who had reached Kiu, and ordered me to march along the line to the Makindu changing station to meet him there. All surplus rations, loads, etc., were to be packed ready in waggons at the Kiboko, and would be brought on by his train, so I wired to Makindu for two empty trucks to be sent up and left for us by the early morning train, arriving from that place at 3.30 a.m. The loads were packed into these that morning, so McLoughlin and Bright started off with the men at 6.30, and Wilson and I remained to await Macdonald and the others, the train not arriving until nearly 8 p.m. It was 9.30 p.m. before we sat down to dinner at Makindu, where the whole expedition was once more concentrated since leaving Mumia's.

The next few days were busily employed in completing all the accounts, so that little delay should result in paying off the men on arrival at the coast, and arrangements had to be made for the carriage of the expedition by rail to Mombasa. It was decided that the move should be made in three

trains, following each other at a few hours' interval. The main column, which had accompanied me from Kavirondo, was to be divided into two portions, the Sikhs and men from Zanzibar accompanying McLoughlin and me in the first train, followed by Bright and Mayes in the second train with the Mombasa men; whilst the third train was to convey Macdonald, Ferguson, Tracy, and the column which had accompanied our chief from Mumia's.

The first train left on the early morning of March 3, reaching the Voi River changing station at 2 p.m.; the second train arrived at 4.30 p.m., and the Colonel and his column at 5.30 p.m. *En route* we had met at Tzavo Mr. Patterson, of the Uganda Railway, with whom I had previously been acquainted in India. He had recently slain a notorious man-eating lion, and I heard a good deal from him regarding his schemes for putting an end to this brute's reign of terror. He was accompanied by another official, who recently had experienced a most marvellous escape from this same animal. We were told that when returning from a convivial dinner-party one evening to his own tent, which was some little distance off, the lion had sprang out on him and his servant, preceding him with a lantern. The lion seized this official, whom he knocked down, but, realizing the mistake it had made, as quickly dropped him and secured the black man. I have been informed on very reliable authority that the fumes of whisky had proved too much for the olfactory nerves of the man-eater, who preferred his meat black and untainted.

Some little time after we left Voi, and whilst we were still at Mombasa, a horrible scene was enacted at this small changing station. It appears that the wife of one of the employés and her husband were occupying a small tent some little distance from the station, when during the night a lion entered, seized her husband from his camp-bed, and dragged him out. Her screams attracted the attention of

the sentry on guard, who fired, and the brute made off, relinquishing his victim. The poor woman then proceeded to bathe the mutilated head of her husband in a basin of water, when the lion again entered, and literally lapped up the blood-stained water from the basin! She was so paralyzed with fear that she could not utter a sound, and nearly lost her reason through the awful situation in which she now found herself. The lion was eventually driven off, but the wretched man had already been killed, and one more victim was added to the long death-roll caused by the man-eating propensities of the lions along the railway.

The three expedition trains left Voi on March 4 at 4 a.m., 6 a.m., and 8.30 a.m. respectively, and completed the seven hours' journey to Mombasa. Each train was met by various officials, and drum and fife bands of the East Africa Rifles played the men down to the camping-grounds they were to occupy during the time that elapsed before they were paid off. The porters from Zanzibar we were to accompany to that port, where they were to be paid off in full subsequently, merely receiving advances now, wherewith to enjoy themselves at the great Swahili metropolis of Mombasa. During our stay we were all made honorary members of the neat little club, and enjoyed much hospitality from the numerous residents of the place, the officers of the expedition dining out almost nightly as guests at the club and other bungalows.

During the daytime we were very fully occupied in paying off the Mombasa men, many thousands of rupees passing through our hands daily, and being transferred into the caps of the porters. These were now a very smart-looking lot, decked out in the long, flowing, graceful robes that the Swahili affects at the coast, which had taken the place of their somewhat worn safari costume. My cook, James William Benson, thoroughly surpassed himself, and when he came up to receive his pay struck awe into the hearts

of the porters. He was the most extraordinary grotesque object I had ever seen, I think, and no Moore and Burgess minstrel at St. James's Hall has ever exaggerated a darky's costume more than this man did. On shouting out Benson's name to come up for payment, there was a passage cleared for him in the crowd of porters outside, and Bright, clutching my arm, said: 'Good Lord! do look at Benson.' I just had time to whisper, 'Don't laugh; he evidently fancies himself,' when he stood before us; and really it was most difficult to keep from roaring with laughter at his comic appearance. On his head he wore a sailor hat with 'H.M.S. *Blonde*' in gold along the ribbon. We couldn't see much of his shirt beyond a dickey; but he evidently had something in the way of a shirt on, for some 9 inches of spotless white cuff protruded beyond the sleeve of his coat. It may have been pinned on inside, or attached to the usual Swahili vest of thin material. The coat was a long black claw-hammer one, the tails of which reached almost down to his calves; whilst his trousers, without any exaggeration, must have been 6 inches too long for him, as they nestled in pleats between his knees and the thick ammunition boots which graced his feet. A flashy brass chain spanned his ample chest—lower down—from pocket to pocket of his waistcoat, and on his fingers a cheap ring or two were prominent. Benson was an old friend, for, like Mwinyaheri, my gun-bearer, he had been with us in 1892, so I solemnly congratulated him on the highly respectable figure he cut, and made tender inquiries as to which missionary he had stolen these clothes from—he was a mission boy, a first-class thief, possessed a grand bass voice, and spoke English like a book—he was evidently much pleased at the impression he had created. As soon as he had received his pay and gone, we could contain ourselves no longer, and broke down. After seeing Benson in his get-up no one could say it would be possible to exaggerate a darky's idea of dress.

During our stay at Mombasa considerable excitement was caused by a lion having attacked some natives on the mainland just opposite the Makupa ferry. He was subsequently killed and dragged in triumph through the streets of Mombasa by a howling mob, who treated the body to every conceivable indignity by spitting on it, 'basting' it over the head with sticks, kicking and cuffing it in such a manner that there was precious little fur left on its hide by the time the procession reached the club entrance.

At length all the Mombasa men had been paid off, accounts balanced, and so forth, and on March 17 we boarded our old friend the *Canara* (which had arrived from Aden a couple of days before), in order to proceed in her to Zanzibar with the 250 odd porters enlisted at that place. How half of them, at least, were not left behind has always been a mystery to me, as many of them were beastly drunk. Yet only one man was found absent when we paid them off, and he was quietly awaiting us on the Mombasa quay when we returned a week later! Leaving Mombasa shortly after 5 o clock that evening, we dropped anchor in Zanzibar Harbour before 10 o'clock next morning. Mr. Nicol, of Smith, Mackenzie and Co., had a large shed, money, etc., ready for us, and we paid away close on 50,000 rupees before night. The next day the remainder of the men were paid off, and we were now free to do a little sight-seeing before Captain Stabb of the *Canara* intended sailing for Mombasa and Aden. Many delightful drives through clove plantations were indulged in, the island being beautifully wooded in addition with cocoanut palms and fine mango-trees. All the hospitality extended to us I have no room to mention, but everyone, including Sir Lloyd Mathews, Mr. Basil Cave, C.B., the Consul and his wife, and many others, was most kind to us. We were presented by Sir Lloyd Mathews to His Highness the Sultan on March 21, and were most graciously received by this benign-looking old Arab gentleman. We sailed

from Zanzibar on the afternoon of the 24th, were back at Mombasa the following morning, and left again, after many final adieux, on the afternoon of the 26th for Aden. We reached that place on April 3, and here parted with our Sikhs, who had so fully maintained their splendid reputation throughout the expedition. They continued in the *Canara* to Bombay to rejoin their regiments, whilst we proceeded in the P. and O. s.s. *Oceana* to Marseilles, and thence travelled overland to London, where we arrived on the evening of April 16, 1899.

APPENDIX A.

EXTRACT FROM COLONEL MACDONALD'S DESPATCH REVIEWING THE OPERATIONS CONDUCTED IN UGANDA SEPTEMBER, 1897, TO MAY, 1898.

'19. These operations have extended over seven months, and have involved five engagements, in which we lost over 10 per cent. of the number engaged, seven minor engagements, and thirty-five skirmishes in which loss of life occurred, not to count occasions when shots were exchanged without apparent loss on either side; and, until almost the close of the operations, the odds were on the side of the enemy. Fortunately, our enemies were widely separated, and did not all rise together, or combine their efforts, and an opportunity was thus afforded for beating them in detail. But the work and strain on both men and officers was necessarily exceptionally severe, more especially as the latter could realize that if certain not improbable combinations amongst the enemy were effected our position would be practically hopeless during the earlier half of the struggle.

'20. The operations themselves covered a great extent of country. From the Ravine to the borders of Toru was a stretch of 350 miles of longitude, while from the south of Buddu to Shuli was 230 miles of latitude. The total area of the country actually operated in amounted to close on 40,000 square miles. Considering that at the commencement of the operations under my command the total force at my disposal consisted of 17 regulars and some 340 Swahilis, and that even at the close of the operations the total only amounted to 2,000, including all classes, it will be evident that the work was exceptionally heavy and involved much arduous marching. Thus, the fifty-six miles from the Nile to Kampala was covered in two days by Captain Woodward's

column, and later by that of Captain Harrison. Lieutenant Scott, D.S.O., in his forced march to Mruli, accomplished sixty-five miles in three days, and Captain Sitwell, in pursuit of Mwanga's army, marched ninety-four miles in four days. The Buddu expedition, marching to relieve Masaka and Bija, covered 164 miles in eight days. Headquarters in the month of January marched 390 miles, and in two consecutive months had to traverse 640 miles, while the total distance covered during the operations was 1,300 miles. Part of Captain Barratt's force has marched 450 miles during the operations, and been present in three engagements; while Major Price has covered 400 miles since his arrival, and immediately after a march of 600 miles. When the hilly and swampy nature of most of the country is considered, these performances are the more remarkable.

'21. Another feature of these operations is the great distance which the reinforcements had to march to get to the seat of war, and their very creditable rate of march, considering the difficulties of the road, and of the extemporized transport service. Captain Harrison had to march from Machakos to Lubwa's, a distance of 350 miles, and attained an average rate of eighteen miles a day. Lieutenant Scott, D.S.O., with 150 soldiers of the Indian contingent, moved from Mombasa, and had from rail-head to march about 600 miles, yet his average was nearly fourteen miles per day. Captain Barratt and Major Price had both to start from Ndi, 600 miles from Lubwa's. The pursuing column from the Ravine to Mumia's averaged thirteen miles a day, although marching by an old native track, and having to cut a way through the forest of Mau, and bridge two impassable rivers, while the other two columns of the expedition between the Ravine and Lubwa's had to cover 500 miles.

'Captain Barratt's and Major Price's men have in all had to traverse over 1,000 miles, Captain Austin's men 1,400 miles, and the headquarters 1,700 miles, if the distance from rail-head be taken into account.

'22. The transport service had to be extemporized from the natives of the country, as, almost without exception, the regular Swahili transport establishments at various stations were armed and turned into soldiers. The Waganda had to some extent carried loads on previous occasions, but the organization and management of a transport corps of from 2,000 to 3,000 porters,

as was necessary towards the latter part of the operations, were in itself no inconsiderable task. Thanks, however, to the unremitting exertions of the local administration, an efficient service was maintained.

'Transport by water had also to be used to some extent, mainly by Waganda canoes. Thanks to the influence of Mr. G. Wilson and the efforts of the Waganda chiefs, these proved very efficient. The steam-launch belonging to Messrs. Boustead, Ridley and Co. was also largely used, and the greatest credit is due to Mr. Cowham, the engineer in charge, for the work he got out of it. Two sailing-boats were also employed, with native captains and crews, which did good work.

'23. A commissariat department had also to be organized, especially after the arrival of Indian troops, who had frequently to be employed in districts where no suitable local supplies were to be obtained. Thanks to the assistance of the civil authorities, sufficient supplies of flour, rice, ghi, salt, and pepper were procured at the capital, and forwarded under escort to the various centres of operations. Goats and cattle were also obtained in sufficient quantities for the meat rations, and a syrup obtained from bananas or sugar-cane was supplied when possible to make up for the "goor" (sugar) ration. Latterly a small sugar-mill was constructed, and coarse brown sugar sufficient for the sick was produced. The Swahilis and other than Indian troops had to subsist on bananas, sweet potatoes, manioc, supplemented when necessary by banana or matama flour and meat. In spite of great difficulties, an efficient transport and commissariat service was organized and maintained.

'24. The medical arrangements were very satisfactory, though various causes combined to throw a very heavy share of work on the medical officers. These were: Dr. Moffat, Principal Medical Officer of the Protectorate, and Dr. Macpherson; Surgeon-Captains McLoughlin and Ferguson, of my expedition; Surgeon-Captain Turner, of the Indian contingent; Surgeon-Lieutenant Standage, of the 27th Bombay Infantry; and Dr. Cook, of the Church Missionary Society. The hospital arrangements, drugs, dressings, and medical comforts of the Protectorate were quite inadequate for a war of this magnitude, where some 550 wounded had to be attended to. The Church Missionary Society built a hospital on Namirembe for the Waganda wounded,

the hospital at Kampala was extended and improved, and extemporized arrangements were made at Lubwa's and elsewhere. For antiseptic dressings and other appliances the army had to depend almost entirely on my expedition stores, and even so splints and dressings had to be extemporized and makeshifts used. The extremely small percentage of deaths amongst the wounded shows how thoroughly satisfactory the medical arrangements were, and especial praise is due to the medical officers for their excellent work, especially when it is recollected that some of them—viz., Dr. Macpherson and Surgeon-Captains McLoughlin and Ferguson—had also to perform combatant duties.

'25. It must be remembered that the military operations frequently required prolonged movements in very unhealthy country, and that the operations extended till nearly the end of the rainy season. The work of active service necessarily made it impossible for the officers and men to take all the precautions which they might have done during peace, and the cheerful and willing spirit displayed by all ranks during these trying circumstances is deserving of great praise. Amidst adverse climatic conditions, with unaccustomed monotonous diet, and with the water generally indifferent, often positively bad, the work was carried out with unflagging zeal and thoroughness.

'26. The engineering work of the campaign consisted of bridge-making and fort-building. The former was almost entirely done by the Waganda, and included a bridge one and a half miles long across the Luajali River, and another one and three-quarter miles long across the Seziwa River, together with many bridges or causeways. Three forts were constructed by the Waganda, under European supervision, on Lubwa's Hill, and the advanced work was built by Captain Woodward, and afterwards improved in many essential points by Captain Austin, R.E. To the latter officer was due a new and strong fort at Mruli, and his engineering knowledge has been more than once of great use in other ways. His road-making and bridging on the way from Marich to Save, and on the road to join us at Lubwa's, deserve a special mention. Other minor posts were also constructed in Bulamwezi by Lieutenant Bright, and in Kitunzi by Lieutenant Tracy.

'27. Signalling by cones and flags was used to a considerable extent at Lubwa's, but the damaged state of most of the few

heliographs which arrived at the front prevented the adoption of any extended system of signalling.

'28. As bodies of native irregulars, sometimes in great force, accompanied our columns on most occasions, a good deal of extra work was necessarily thrown on the officers commanding columns in securing the harmonious co-operation of their allies. That the officers were generally successful in so doing is very creditable to their tact and good management. On many occasions laymen, and in exceptional circumstances clergymen of the Church Missionary Society, rendered very great service by accompanying columns as interpreters, and undoubtedly contributed to the successful work of our allies. These gentlemen were the late Mr. G. Pilkington, Mr. Lloyd, and Mr. Fletcher, Rev. H. Clayton and Rev. G. Blackledge.

'29. The loyal Waganda rallied to the side of the Government in large numbers, and, as already reported in various despatches, played no unimportant part during the early stages of the operations when the Government forces were weak. The actual irregular forces available at the beginning of January, 1898, consisted of 1,600 guns at Lubwa's, 300 at Lugumbwa's, 500 at Kampala, 600 in Buddu, while some 300 were distributed in minor posts, etc., or a total of 3,300 guns. During the operations the Waganda lost 185 killed, and 341 wounded, or a total of 526. These totals include some 20 chiefs killed and wounded, of whom the Namutwe was the most important. The steadfastness and determination of the Waganda, under heavy losses, and during for them a very prolonged campaign, have surprised even their warmest admirers. With few exceptions, the various column commanders have spoken warmly of their co-operation and goodwill, and I have much pleasure in adding my personal testimony as to their excellent work, which is deserving of substantial recognition. I have accordingly included in the medal rolls the names of certain chiefs and others, who have most distinguished themselves, as deserving the medal, a mark of approval which they greatly appreciate. The following, however, are worthy of some personal recognition:

'Apollo, Katikiro (Protestant), Mugwania, Katikiro (Catholic), Kakanguru, Zakariah, Kangao, the two Mujasis, the Pokino Busibika, and Andrea Mukibera, and the Sekibobo and Kago.

'30. The Wasoga also rendered considerable assistance,

though, as their fighting powers are not equal to the Waganda, they were not able to help to the same extent. Still, in the actual fighting they lost 119 killed and wounded. Special praise is due to Kyramia, the only chief to come to our assistance during the fight of October 19. Lubwa should also be mentioned, as at considerable personal sacrifice he prevented the enemy from obtaining canoes, and gave us all the assistance in his power. Although some of the Wasoga chiefs were hostile, and others neutral, the general behaviour of the chiefs as a whole was good.

'31. The general behaviour of the troops was excellent. The detachment of Sikhs, men selected from the 14th and 15th Sikhs, fought with such determined and conspicuous gallantry as to add to the already high reputation of these regiments. Captain Harrison's East African Rifles, consisting of Soudanese, Swahilis, Wanyamwezi, Manyema, etc., had an unusual share of fighting, and uniformly distinguished themselves. The same high praise is due to the East African Indian contingent of Punjabi Mahommedans under Captain Barratt, D.S.O., and Lieutenant Scott, D.S.O. The 27th Bombay Infantry detachments under Major Price arrived later on the scene, and these had not the same opportunities of distinction.

'While these regular troops might reasonably be expected to do well, I must not omit to mention the unexpected fighting qualities displayed by the hastily raised Swahili corps, especially those of my expedition, who were carefully selected by Sir Arthur Hardinge and General Sir Lloyd Mathews, and who have thoroughly justified their selection. One company of these on October 19 stood the exceptionally heavy loss of over 20 per cent. without giving ground. Corporal Brodie's transport Swahilis and Mr. Mayes' men have also fought very well, and generally the Swahilis as a body, while by no means up to the standard of the regular troops, have done extremely well.

'32. It is with the deepest regret that I have to draw attention to the heavy loss sustained during these military operations. Of the comparatively small body of Europeans, seven have been killed and five wounded. Major Thruston, who with the courage and promptitude for which he was remarkable proceeded single-handed to Lubwa's to attempt to prevent the spread of the mutiny, and induce the mutineers to return to their duty, fell a victim to his sense of duty, was treacherously seized by the

mutinous garrison, and was murdered on October 19, 1897. His death was a very heavy loss to the Protectorate and to the service at large, as his military abilities were of a very high order.

'Mr. N. A. Wilson, who had gallantly stuck to his post at Lubwa's as Civil Officer of Usoga, fell a victim to the mutinous soldiery at the same time.

'Mr. Scott, the engineer of the Government launch, who had in the pluckiest way started to support Major Thruston at Lubwa's with a Soudanese crew, was also treacherously seized and killed with his two comrades, already mentioned.

'Lieutenant Bertram Fielding, Wiltshire Regiment, was killed in action on October 19, while gallantly fighting in the salient of our position. The loss which the small force on Lubwa's Hill sustained by the death of this fearless and promising officer was severely felt.

'Lieutenant N. A. Macdonald, 14th Sikhs, was killed in action on December 11, 1897, while serving with the covering party, which repulsed a desperate attempt to interfere with the working parties which were destroying the enemy's food plantations. An enveloping attack by the enemy in the long grass had thrown the Swahilis on our left flank into disorder, and whilst Lieutenant Macdonald with a few men was withstanding the enemy and restoring order he was killed. His previous experience of active service and the great abilities he had already displayed made his loss an exceptionally severe one.

'Mr. G. Pilkington, of the Church Missionary Society, who was in charge of the Waganda working parties the same day, was unfortunately killed while he went up to the firing-line to ask some questions about the further continuance of the work. His death is a terrible loss to Uganda, where his many admirable qualities had greatly endeared him to all, and given him an influence with the natives second to that of no other missionary, while his linguistic and scholarly abilities rendered his service invaluable to the Church Missionary Society. From first to last the cheery assistance he rendered to me in dealing with the Waganda was beyond praise.

'Captain C. A. Molony, R.A., was mortally wounded in action on February 24, 1898, at Kabagambi, after he had with conspicuous gallantry led his men into the enemy's fort. He died next day, and his death was much felt, as he had earned the

esteem of all. He had already been present in the engagements of November 24, December 7 and 11, 1897, January 15 and February 18, 1898, and had repeatedly been mentioned for his gallantry before the enemy.

'The officers wounded were: Mr. F. J. Jackson severely on October 19—recovered; Dr. Macpherson slightly wounded October 19, 1897, and again slightly on December 11, 1897—recovered; Lieutenant P. B. Osborn, Oxfordshire Light Infantry, severely on February 24, 1898—recovering; and Lieutenant M. F. Gage, 7th Dragoon Guards, slightly on April 26, 1898.

'33. The total loss was as follows:

'Government troops, including Swahili Rifles, 49 killed and 119 wounded; total 168.

'The Waganda irregulars lost 185 killed and 341 wounded; total 526.

'The Wasoga irregulars lost 39 killed and 90 wounded; total 129.

'The total losses may be shown as follows:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Total.
Europeans	7	5	12
Native Troops ...	24	48	72
Swahilis	25	71	96
Waganda	185	341	526
Wasoga	39	90	129
Total	280	555	835

'34. The Mission gave every assistance in their power in attending to the wounded, and various ladies and gentlemen volunteered assistance. Those who actually accompanied the army in the field and assisted with the wounded were: the late Mr. Pilkington, Dr. Cook, Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Fletcher, Mr. A. Wilson, Rev. H. Clayton, and Rev. G. Blackledge, of the Church Missionary Society; and Fathers Matthews and Kestinz, of Bishop Hanlon's Mission. The ladies who assisted in attending to the wounded at Kampala or other centres were: Miss E. M. Furley, Miss J. E. Chadwick, Miss E. L. Pilgrim, Miss M. S. Thomsett, Miss G. E. Bird, Miss B. Taylor, and Miss K.

Timpson, all of the Church Missionary Society; also Father Gaudibert of the French Algerian Mission.

'35. Before proceeding to submit for favourable consideration the names of the officers who, serving under my command, rendered valuable service, I would like to offer here the expression of my warmest thanks for, and appreciation of, the assistance I received throughout the military operations from the local Administration of the Protectorate. I realize that the work done by the head and staff of that Administration is a matter which will be judged of, and appreciated by, the Foreign Office authorities, who will necessarily be in possession of all details regarding their work. I do not, therefore, propose to take upon myself to revise the valuable services thus rendered during the crisis with which I found myself associated as commanding the military operations; but I venture to record my warm and hearty appreciation of the support and assistance I received from Mr. F. J Jackson and Mr. George Wilson, with whom, as successively filling the post of Acting Commissioners, I found myself in close co-operation, and my sense of the readiness and zeal with which members of their staff assisted me whenever the circumstances allowed them to do so.

'36. Considering the circumstances sketched in the preceding paragraphs, I trust that the following list of officers and men who distinguished themselves will not be considered too lengthy. It must be remembered, with such a small number of Europeans and so much fighting, that greater and more frequent opportunities of distinction were afforded than in ordinary campaigning, while the quality of the Swahili Rifles, hastily raised and partially trained, with which so much fighting had to be done, compelled the Europeans to expose themselves to an unusual extent to steady and encourage their men.

'37. In the following list of officers specially mentioned, I have adhered to corps as far as possible, but have in some cases distinguished between those who saw much or little service——'

Here follows the list of officers submitted by Colonel Macdonald for favourable consideration, which need not here be enumerated, as the object of this appendix is merely to convey some impression of the scope and arrangements of the military operations conducted by our chief.

APPENDIX B.

A REPLY TO RECENT ERRONEOUS STATEMENTS REGARDING THE MUTINY.

SINCE compiling the account of the Uganda Mutiny as recorded in the foregoing pages, it has been brought to my notice that a recent writer has dealt at some length with the above operations. His remarks are so inaccurate, and leave so many erroneous impressions, to the disadvantage of Colonel Macdonald, that I feel compelled, in the absence of that officer from England, to remove the false impressions that have been created. I propose, therefore, in this appendix to deal with certain passages, which I hope it will be seen have no foundation on fact, and that this writer's account of the mutiny is not very reliable in points of detail. It is needless for me to say that I was on the spot, while the writer in question can have no knowledge from personal observation of the events he refers to. Dealing with the escort provided, he states:

1. '*The three companies selected were taken to the Ravine station by their Commandant, Major Ternan,*' etc.

This was not the case. As already mentioned in my narrative, they did not accompany Major Ternan at all, as we met that officer at Kariandus, on his way to the coast, a week before any of the Sudanese escort reached the Ravine. They did not march in a body to that place, but were strung out in small parties along the road. Grave disaffection (to which the writer subsequently refers) had previously shown itself at Kampala, when these three companies were still further ordered on a lengthy expedition after constant marching and counter-marching.

2. '*They were transferred to Macdonald, who began his march to the north on September* 21.'

They were not transferred in a body, as the above passage would imply. They appeared in driblets, and some 113 men, accompanied by Bilal Amin and Jardin Effendi, never reached the Ravine at all, but joined the malcontents at Nandi, when these latter returned there.

3. '*Two days later they deserted in a body.*'

This is not accurate. By a preconcerted movement the bulk of those in No. 2 and No. 3 Columns deserted, but the majority of No. 7 Company accompanied No. 1 Column as far as Njemps.

4. '*And returned to the Eldoma Ravine station to complain to Mr. Jackson of the treatment they had received from their new commander.*'

This is a mistake. Mr. Jackson was actually present in Major Macdonald's camp at the time, and saw the whole proceeding. The men did not go to Mr. Jackson, but bolted for the Ravine station, possibly hoping to capture the station and reserve ammunition and stores. Mr. Jackson followed them later to the Ravine *with* Major Macdonald, and subsequently interviewed them at that place regarding their grievances. The mutineers did not complain regarding their treatment at the hands of Major Macdonald. Their chief complaints were too much work, too little pay, insufficient rations, deficient clothing, and injudicious management by young and inexperienced officers, who, ignorant of their language, were unable to enter into details of their lives.

5. '*The Sudanese apparently had no intentions of mischief.*'

Why did they, then, establish a picket on the road to try and prevent Major Macdonald communicating with his other columns? Why did they level their rifles at Kirkpatrick and Macpherson, when they called on the Sudanese to stop, on the latter bolting into the bush? Why did they again try to stop Kirkpatrick when proceeding to warn the Ravine, thus compelling him to leave the road and gallop past them on his pony? If they meant no mischief, why did some of their own number, who did not at first desert, warn Jackson and Macdonald that the malcontents *did* mean trouble?

6. '*Captain Kirkpatrick threatened to fire upon them if they persisted in disobedience.*'

With good reason, as he considered that, if they were allowed to collect within 200 yards of the station, they might rush and capture the station with all its ammunition, etc., for the garrison of the post consisted of Sudanese comrades of the mutineers.

7. '*He (Mr. Jackson) had no option whatever but to order the men to return to Macdonald, and the men absolutely refused.*'

On the contrary, Major Macdonald had informed Mr. Jackson that, after their behaviour, nothing would induce him to take on these mutinous troops with the expedition. Mr. Jackson did his

utmost to try and persuade the men to come in and submit to the Uganda authorities, risking his life by going down himself into their camp. They refused, and subsequently marched off to Nandi, which place they sacked.

8. '*The station at Lubwa's had a small Sudanese garrison under an officer named Wilson. When the news of the mutiny reached Uganda, Major Thruston, the Commandant of the Uganda Rifles, chivalrously started for Lubwa's to secure the loyalty of its garrison, and persuade the mutineers to return to duty.*'

It should be mentioned that this garrison had been considerably augmented by Major Thruston, and that a large number of pensioners were also settled at Lubwa's, where they joined the mutineers. Thruston and Wilson were treacherously seized *before* the arrival of the mutineers, and not subsequently, as this writer states.

9. '*The same day* (*October* 18) *Macdonald's force arrived in pursuit, and took up a station on the hill opposite Lubwa's. Thruston sent Macdonald a characteristically chivalrous note, asking him not to fight unless attacked, but not to let any considerations for his own safety interfere with the plans for the suppression of the mutiny.*'

The fact is omitted that on seeing the hill occupied the mutineers at once sallied out from the fort in attack formation, but Macdonald allowed no firing; and when the Sudanese realized the strength of the force on the hill they changed their tactics, on being ordered to fall in if they had any questions to discuss, and commenced parleying. Negotiations for the release of the European prisoners were set on foot at once, and subsequently Major Thruston's chivalrous note was sent up in the afternoon.

10. '*Early next day* (*October* 19) *three hundred of the mutineers left Lubwa's to have a "shauri" with Macdonald.*'

No mention is made of some 200 Waganda Mohammedans armed by the mutineers with Government Sniders and Remingtons. Were they also coming up to have a 'shauri'? These men could have had no special grievance against Macdonald, and it is not easy to conjecture from what motive they were accompanying the Sudanese, if it was not in order to assist them in obtaining possession of the hill by force.

11. '*They advanced in irregular order, laughing and talking until they were fifty yards from the camp.*'

Yes, quite true. The order was the 'irregular' one, some-

times known as 'attack formation.' The Sudanese advanced in extended order against the front and right flank of the camp, with supports, reserve, and a Maxim. Of course they were laughing; even a Sudanese is capable of enjoying a joke—especially of the nature they now anticipated, in seeing the Swahilis ignominiously put to flight. The result was different.

12. '*Macdonald tells us that they then treacherously opened fire. There is some doubt as to this fact.*'

There has never been any doubt or any room for doubt on this point. Macdonald was out on the right flank with his Sudanese interpreter, trying to induce Suliman Effendi to come in, when the latter waved on his men, their bugler sounded the advance, and Suliman himself, loading his rifle, led a charge on the position. Macdonald's interpreter was shot down at his side, and the action at once became general.

13. '*The method of the Sudanese advance does not look much like an intended surprise attack. But a gun went off on one side or the other.*'

This statement conveys an entirely wrong impression. It was a treacherous attempt on the part of the Sudanese to surprise the force on the hill by drawing near under a cloak of friendly discussion. When they were allowed to reach a point from whence they imagined a rush would carry everything before them, they commenced the action as stated above.

14. '*After a severe fight in which Lieutenant Fielding and Lieutenant Macdonald were killed, and Mr. Jackson severely wounded, the mutineers were driven back with heavy loss, including Mabruk Effendi, one of the two leaders of the mutiny.*'

Lieutenant Norman Macdonald was not killed on October 19. He was not even present with the force on that day, but met a gallant soldier's death on December 11, 1897, on which day also Pilkington received a mortal wound. Moreover, Mabruk Effendi was only wounded, and lived to be killed in a subsequent skirmish. I merely mention these facts to show how little dependence can be placed on the narrative for accuracy of detail.

15. '*Meanwhile the news of the Sudanese revolt had spread through Uganda, and the Waganda again rose in rebellion.*'

The news had been sent at once to Uganda from the Ravine in September. Thruston, not fully realizing the serious nature of affairs, did not forward one of Jackson's letters giving Wilson

instructions regarding precautionary measures; nor did he consider it expedient to retain a Waganda force at Lubwa's, which had been sent to his assistance from Kampala. The Waganda flocked to the Government standard, and rendered every assistance to its officials. No rebellion broke out for another two months, and that was confined to the Waganda Mohammedans, who took up arms under Gabriel, and later under Mwanga. The majority of the nation remained absolutely loyal to the British Government under most depressing circumstances.

16. '*Fortunately, most of the other Sudanese troops, who had not the same grievances as the three companies that mutinied, remained loyal; but, as a precautionary measure, they were ordered to lay down their arms, and they promptly obeyed.*'

This is not accurate. As stated in my account, Molony's men wished to join the mutineers, and discussed murdering him. Subsequently the bulk of the Buddu Sudanese mutinied, and had to be disarmed, whilst the Unyoro garrisons were in a condition of great unrest, and caused Dugmore and every European in the country immense anxiety, as they threatened to go at any moment. The writer omits all mention of the dangerous and menacing complications that the presence of these troops caused. The Toru company and half a company in Buddu were the only ones in Uganda that proved loyal, in addition to the half-company at the Ravine. A few men here and there also dissociated themselves from the mutineers, but the half-company at Naivasha had to be disarmed by Sir Arthur Hardinge, and they were not so bad as those in Unyoro. The expression 'the three companies that mutinied' is misleading. Altogether some 600 Sudanese men were present in the enemy's fort at Lubwa's. As regards disarmament, the Sudanese certainly 'promptly obeyed' when they were cornered. It would perhaps have gone hard with them had they refused, and they were quite aware of the fact—none better.

17. '*Thanks in the main to the influence of Wilson and Grant, and to the loyal assistance given by the two missionary parties, further disasters were averted and the country held, until the arrival of reinforcements from the coast.*'

The above praise is well merited; but is there no praise for Dugmore in Unyoro, Sitwell in Toru, and those officers and civilians who fought at Lubwa's and Buddu, and the loyal

Waganda? No reference is made to the complications raised by Gabriel, and subsequently by the escape of Mwanga, nor to the urgent appeal addressed to Macdonald to hasten from Lubwa's to the assistance of those in Buddu, where the Sudanese under Grant and Hobart threatened to join Gabriel. Again, in the crisis supervening on the escape of the mutineers from Lubwa's, when they were marching on Unyoro, Wilson once more appeals to Macdonald to hasten back, after dispersing the ex-King's following, in order to resume command of the operations against the mutineers. None of these facts are mentioned; but who was the one man we all, and Wilson, as I am sure he would frankly acknowledge himself, regarded as the only one who could save the situation? There is no hesitation in replying, 'Macdonald.'

18. '*The blame for the mutiny is not to be charged against any one man. It was due to several causes, and Macdonald's quarrel with his men at the Ravine was only the irritant that caused the bursting of the bonds of discipline.*'

Macdonald had no personal quarrel with the men. They were smarting under previous wrongs, which they asked him to redress. This it was quite impossible for him to promise to do, as he was not a Government official of the Uganda Administration, and the men were merely handed over to him temporarily to act as escort to his expedition. In Mr. Berkeley's report on the mutiny, he states: 'Major Macdonald entered this Protectorate (Uganda) to find himself at once confronted with difficulties that he had no share in creating.' This appears to show pretty clearly that no personal quarrel existed between Macdonald and the mutineers.

19. '*They (the mutineers) reached the Ravine, smarting under a sense of injustice for their treatment in the past, and they were prejudiced against their future commander.*'

The mutineers admitted to Jackson they were well treated by Macdonald. The few men who stood fast explained that they did so because they had served with him before, and could therefore trust him. If the Sudanese had been prejudiced, why did so many men volunteer to accompany Macdonald subsequently when the expedition made a fresh start from Kampala? At Lubwa's when some Sudanese prisoners were handed over for safe custody to the Waganda, and were informed that no harm would come to them, they asked to have these assurances direct from the

lips of Macdonald in person, as they would then believe the statement. I think that fact denotes their confidence in his promises.

20. '*For apparently some, at least, of the Sudanese had not forgotten or forgiven Macdonald's treatment of Selim Bey in* 1893. *Opinions differ as to how far this factor helped in the outbreak. But it is stated that Bilal Effendi before leaving Uganda swore on the head of his son . . . that he would never serve again under Macdonald.*'

That may be the version of the story the writer heard, and, as it is always as well to hear two sides of a question, let me relate the version we heard. To start with, Bilal Amin had been promoted by Macdonald himself on account of his stanch and loyal behaviour *during* the Selim Bey troubles, and was in consequence considerably attached to our chief. Unfortunately, he had not reached the Ravine station at the time of the Sudanese outbreak, and was gathered in at Nandi, when the mutineers had overstepped all bounds. On the death of Mabruk and Suliman he became the leader of the mutineers, and a very capable one he showed himself, although he has deserved undying obloquy for his brutal murder of Thruston and the other prisoners. When told off originally for the Macdonald expedition, he raised no difficulties, but asked for a few weeks' leave first, which was granted. On arrival at Kampala to see his family, he was immediately ordered off on a small side-expedition, being promised the balance of his leave on his return from it. On his return, however, he was informed that this promise could not be kept, as his services were urgently required at once for the Macdonald expedition. He insisted on his leave first, and was placed under arrest for insubordination. He was subsequently released without punishment, and was sent to join Macdonald. Burning with indignation at the treatment he had received, Bilal is said to have sworn *then*, on the head of his son, that he would go on no further expeditions, as he was tired, always absent from his family, and received no consideration despite all his hard work and faithful services.

21. '*As soon as the men were transferred to their new commander the trouble began.*'

On the preceding page the writer refers to the punishments inflicted on these men by Major Ternan, 'which they bitterly resented,' and the degradation of the non-commissioned officers,

etc. Trouble had been brewing for over a year previously, and Mr. Grant himself has told me that the women, when grinding corn, etc., were in the habit of chanting songs, describing how that, now their husbands had become strong and well armed, they were the real masters of the country, and a good time was shortly coming. The various officers of the Uganda Rifles could not but be aware that the bearing of the Sudanese was not so respectful as formerly. Mr. Foster, too, whose chief duties were those of paymaster, has told me that his Sudanese were repeatedly positively insulting in their demeanour towards him when receiving their pay from him. Again, Thruston, when taking over command from Ternan, expressed his opinion pretty freely in one of his last letters home regarding the unsatisfactory attitude of the Sudanese. We have already refered to Bilal being put under arrest, whilst all the non-commissioned officers of his company had been degraded a step before Macdonald arrived upon the scene at all. Mr. N. Wilson had been openly insulted at Lubwa's by the garrison, who threatened to tie him up and flog him! There had been trouble in Usoga and Kavirondo, and natives had been plundered by the escort marching through Nandi. The above facts alone quite clearly show that troubles did not *begin* when the escort were handed over to Macdonald.

22. '*The men on joining Macdonald's expedition asked for a "shauri" or conference in which to state their grievances. Macdonald refused to see them, but told one of the native officers, Mabruk Effendi, what arrangements had been made.*'

The statement that Macdonald refused to see them is unfounded, as my account of the commencement of the outbreak will fully show. Macdonald was engaged until close on 9.30 p.m. with Mabruk Effendi, other native officers, and delegates of the men in discussing arrangements which he was prepared to undertake on their behalf.

23. '*On the following morning the men drew up in line ready to march north with part of the caravan. According to the men's account, as reported by Jackson, the men, through their Commandant, Lieutenant Bright, begged for an interview with Macdonald. He walked toward them, and the men expected some explanations and assurances. Instead of that, they were brusquely ordered to "Right turn, quick march."*'

This is not a correct description of what took place. No. 1 Column had already started without a hitch on September 21.

On the 22nd, when No. 2 was about to start, the Sudanese accompanying that column refused to obey Lieutenant Bright, who reported the fact to Major Macdonald. The latter then told the men off to their stations, as everything had previously been fully arranged according to their wishes, and, as far as could be seen, to their entire satisfaction—short of sending the whole escort back to their homes at Kampala—and when ordered to march by Macdonald they 'promptly obeyed.'

24. '*The men looked appealingly to Lieutenant Bright, and asked, "What is the meaning of this? We want to see him; he comes and won't speak to us, but orders us away. We won't go, but will run away."*'

The writer is quoting, apparently, from what one of the mutineers said to Jackson at the Ravine. I do not think that the saying of one mutineer who gave evidence can be accepted without question. As already stated, others amongst the Sudanese warned Jackson and Macdonald that the mutineers meant mischief all along; but they would doubtless have preferred to wait a day or two until they had assembled the whole 300 odd men at the expedition camp, when they might have been too strong for us.

25. '*The Sudanese accordingly fled to complain to Jackson. Apparently they thought that, if they were to be treated thus at the first camp, what might they not expect when they got far away from Uganda into the deserts to the north?*'

I again reiterate that the Sudanese were quite aware that Jackson was in Major Macdonald's camp, and fled *away* from him, presumably to capture the Ravine station. Later at the Ravine they started a 'shauri' with Jackson (whose offers they had fully made up their minds they were going to reject) merely for the purpose of gaining time, as they did not know what had become of the men of No. 1 Column, who were still with me in the main on the way to Njemps.

I have now merely dealt with such circumstances as are within my own personal knowledge, as being present and on the spot during the mutiny operations. The account given by the same writer of the Selim Bey troubles needs no refutation from me, as Macdonald himself fully describes what actually took place in his book 'Soldiering and Surveying in British East Africa.' Independent missionary and other evidence by men *on the spot* I think

will fully support all Macdonald's statements regarding that crisis; but, in conclusion, I would quote from one of poor Pilkington's last letters home, as follows:

'Major Macdonald, you remember, was in Uganda before, and saved the country from a Mahommedan outbreak. He has saved it a second time now. No man has been in Uganda for whom I have a greater respect and admiration' ('Pilkington of Uganda,' p. 332).

Pilkington acted as interpreter between Macdonald and the Waganda during both the above crises.

A

INDEX

ABYSSINIANS, 190, 196
'Adventure Camp,' 21
Afridis, 116, 117
Aggo, Sheikh, 154
Ainsworth, John, 272
Akinyo River, 145, 161, 238
Akol, 155
Ali bin Sali, 208, 210, 219
Alinakono, 198
Amite, 194, 197
Andrea Mukibera, 105, 290
Ankole, 110, 111
Ansorge, Dr., 51, 98, 105
Apollo (Katikiro), 99, 101, 103, 106, 290
Apule, food depot at, 145, 150
—— River, 145
Areu, 151
Ashburnham, Captain, 110, 112
Athi plains, 270
—— River, 20, 21, 272
Athomi, 275
Athonuth River, 145

Bagge, S. S., 253
Bagnall, Captain, at Nandi, 39, 253; reinforcements with, 86, 91; at Lubwa's, 98, 99; to Unyoro, 108; Ireyta defeated by, 111
Bakhit Ali Effendi, 104
Bale, 100, 103
Baluchi reinforcements, arrival of, 111
Banda, 100
Baringo (guide), 210
Baringo, Lake, 57, 258
Barratt, Major, at Mombasa, 6; following Scott, 97; reserve under, at Kampala, 100; to Namuganga, 102, 103; Ireyta defeated by, 111; at Mruli, 112; work of, 287; excellence of men under, 291
Barter, rates of, 198, 199, 209, 210, 223, 224, 270
Bass, Mr., 261
Beads, 270
Bees, 60
Benson, James William, 282, 283
Berkeley, Mr. Ernest, hospitality of, 6, 116; Major Ternan acting for, 32; Martyr's appointment approved by, 112; arrival of, at Kampala, 115; Pereira assigned to Macdonald by, 119; despatches to, 236; quoted, 300
Bilal Amin Effendi, 34, 36, 39, 46, 49, 105, 149, 295, 301
—— Yan, 272
Billy, 12-14, 17
Bird, Miss G. E., 293
Blackledge, Rev. G., 104, 106, 290, 293
'Boma,' meaning of, 80
Bondoni, 20
Boothby, Mr., 11
Bousted, Ridley and Co., steam-launch of, 98, 288
Bridging and road-making by natives, 102, 103, 105, 120, 289
Bright, Lieutenant R. G. T., No. 2 column accompanied by, 33; Ravine Station reached by, 40; to Kampala (March 10), 110; to Kampala (April 27), 116; to Save, 116; at Mbai, 132; to Ngaboto, 132, 133; to Marich, 170; to Mumia's with boat-sections, 231, 232; Bulamwezi post constructed by, 289; otherwise mentioned, 5, 8, 15, 19, 31, 32, 79, 172, 176, 192, 198, 204, 207, 213, 214, 218, 220, 232, 246, 248, 263, 264, 269, 270, 272, 276, 280, 281, 302, 303
Brodie, Corporal, building of new fort at Lubwa's superintended by, 98; Turner assisted by, 108; at Hoima, 111; praise of Swahilis under, 291; otherwise mentioned, 16, 86, 91
Buddu:
  Irregulars in, strength of, 290
  Kirkpatrick at, 104, 110
  Mwanga's march on, 94
  Sudanese in, 51-53, 84, 93, 94, 121, 299

Bukora:
Donkey-buying at, 224
Food depot to be at Manimani or, 116
Headquarter Column at, 144, 234
Relief column to, 231, 233, 236-238
Bukumi, 110
Bulamwezi, 110, 289
Busibika, 290
Buyobe, 103
Bwekula, 110
Bwinzau, Mount, 17

Caine, Mr., 268
Camels, 61, 68, 69, 137, 138
Camels' Leap, 69, 220
Canara, 4-6, 284, 285
Capper, Lieutenant-Colonel, 161
Cattle plague, 31, 249, 262
Cave, Mr. Basil, 284
Cave dwellings, 82; shelters, 226, 242
Cayenne pepper snuff, 182, 183
Chadwick, Miss J. E., 293
Chapeth River, 146
Chemorongi Mountains, 171, 218, 230, 236
Chibcharagnani, Mount, 81
Choga, Lake:
Exploration of, 123, 135
Importance of, 101
Mutineers' march on, 100; mutineers at, 105
Choro Island, 204
Christmas fare, 246
Circumcision amongst natives, 254, 255
Clayton, Rev. H., 290, 293
Coinage amongst natives, 273
Colonization, climate favourable to, 255, 256
Compact of friendship, method of, 190
Confinements on the march, 246
Contractors, Goanese, 271, 272
Cook, Dr., 48, 288, 293
Costumes and coiffures:
Ketosh natives, 84, 85
Latuka natives, 157
Mangichi natives, 124
Marle natives, 191, 192
Masai, 124
Mbai natives, 132
Ngamatak native chief, 209
Save natives, 75, 76
Turkana, 174, 175, 178
Ukambani natives, 276
Usoga natives, 88
Wa-Karamojo, 71, 237
Wa-Nandi, 254, 255
Wa-Ngoko, 127
Wa-Suk, 65, 66, 85
Cowham, Mr., 288
Cowries, value of, 132
Crocodiles, 187, 188, 197

Dabasien, Mount, 74, 141, 142, 234
Dance of Wa-Karamojo, 239
Dervishes, 150, 155, 156, 158
Desertions by Sudanese, 34, 37; by porters, 64, 77, 78; by Wasoga, 122
Dodosi, 145
Donkeys:
Capture of, 189; payment for captured herd, 202
Maternal affection among, 200
Price of, 223
Stampeded by hartebeeste, 197, 198
Troublesome behaviour of, 169, 170, 200, 201
Donyo Leso, 256
Doroto, 175
Dress, native. *See* Costumes
Drunkenness of natives, 219, 284
Duck-shooting, 32
Dugmore, Lieutenant, 51, 97, 98, 102, 109, 299

Edeng, 145
Elephants, 171, 176, 177, 233, 234, 245
Elgeyo Mountains, 258
Elgon, Mount, 70-72, 74, 123-125, 225, 242
Elmenteita, Lake, 32, 261 *et seq.*
Emin Pasha's old soldiery, 142, 147, 150
Equator Camp (Ngare Nyuki), 16, 33, 259
Eriopul Kiapa (Tumbo), 209, 210
Exchange, rates of, 198, 199, 209, 210, 223, 224, 270

Fajao post, 109
Farag Effendi, 241, 242
Fayira, 148
Ferguson, Surgeon-Captain J. D., No. 1 Column accompanied by, 33; to Mumia's, 120; with Rudolf Column, 169 *et seq.*; attacked by fever, 201; left at Save, 232, 233; against Wa-Sore, 240-242; otherwise mentioned, 5, 8, 12, 28, 58, 78, 80, 82, 86, 95, 97, 106, 127, 128, 130, 134, 136, 176, 191, 192, 198, 213-218, 220, 244, 248, 281, 288, 289
Fever, attack of, 135
Fielding, Lieutenant Bertram, at Ravine Station, 29, 38; to Mumia's, 40; death of, 47, 90, 292; burial of, 107
Fish, dried, 193
Fletcher, Mr., 101, 290, 293
Flight of natives, 124, 125, 185-187, 189, 196, 201

Fort Smith, 23, 244, 267-270
Forts, construction of, by natives, 98, 289
Foster, Mr., 104, 108, 302
Foweira, 109, 112
Fowler, Lieutenant, at Port Victoria, 42; at Lubwa's, 43, 46, 95, 96; at Jinja, 97; to Ntebi, 98; with Scott's flying column, 101; at Hoima, 109, 111; to accompany expedition, 117
Fowl-plucking, 122
Furley, Miss E. M., 293

Gabriel, 93, 299, 300
Gage, Lieutenant M. F., 293
Game:
  Athi River, 21, 272
  Baringo, Lake, 57, 58
  Bondoni, 20
  Doroto, 176
  Elmenteita, Lake, 32, 262-266
  Guas' Ngishu, 81
  Karamojo, 70
  Kiboko, 277
  Lubur, Mount, 201
  Makindu, 18
  Meridional Rift, 261
  Mwani district, 19
  Nakuru, Lake, 22, 32
  Naivasha, 30, 31
  Nile and Rudolf water-parting, 171
  Nongolibe, 193
Game-pits, 83
Gania, 210
Gatacre, Major-General Sir William, 3
Gaudibert, Father, 294
Gemmell, Mr., 95, 97
Gilgil River, 261
Goanese contractors, 271, 272
Gorges, Captain, 262, 267
Gosiale stream, 187
Grant, Lieutenant, 121
——, Mr., 51, 52, 117, 121, 122, 299, 300; cited, 302
Grantii, 263
Guas' Ngishu Plain, 81, 256
Guinea-fowl, 264, 266
Gule:
  Post left at, 148; abandoned, 150
  Sudanese settled at, 143

Halfan, 268, 269
Hall, Mr. F., 23, 24, 28, 29, 267, 269-271
Hanbury-Tracy. *See* Tracy
Hannington, Lieutenant, 117
Hardinge, Sir Arthur, 236, 291, 299
Harrison, Major, at Bondoni, 20; at Lubwa's, 54; to Kampala, 99; to Kabagambi, 101, 106; to Mruli, 108; at Mruli, 112; to Machakos, 118; rapid marching of, 287; praise of men under, 291; otherwise mentioned, 86, 91, 95, 97
Hartebeeste, 193, 197
Hatch, Colonel, 246, 272, 273
Headquarter Column of Exploratory Expedition:
  Constitution of, 138
  Route of, 141-168
Hinde, Mr. S., 271
Hobart, Lieutenant, 51, 93, 94, 300
Hobley, Mr. and Mrs., 123, 248
Höhnel, Lieutenant, 62
Hoima, 109, 111
Hospitality of railway officials, 11
Huts, native, 85, 86, 191, 237

Ibrahim, Lake, 103
Impalah, 265, 266
Indian carts, 15
Ireyta, 109, 111
Ivory, value of, 247

Jackson, F. J., meeting with, 32; at Ravine Station, 33; dealings of, with Sudanese mutineers, 39, 296, 303; to Mumia's, 40, 42; at Lubwa's, 45-47; to Kampala, 50; wounded, 90, 293; zeal of, 294
Jardin Effendi, 36, 39, 149, 295
Jass, 109
Jiggers, 88, 89
Jinja Ferry, 42, 44, 97
Jiwe, Mount, 144
Juma, 13, 14
Justice, Captain, 272

Kabagambi, 101, 106, 107
Kabarega, 108, 148, 149, 166, 247
Kabileathi, 145
Kafu River, 108, 111
Kakamega's, food-store at, 252
Kakunguru, 100, 103, 135, 290
Kakwanga, 153
Kalnalechikal Hills, 177, 210
Kamasia Hills, 58, 59, 258
Kampala:
  Arrival at (January 24, 1898), 99
  Burial of fallen officers at, 107
  Disaffection at, 295
  Hospital at, 289
  Irregulars at, strength of, 290
  Jackson and Macpherson to, 50
  Macdonald to, 93
  March to, from Lugumbwa's, 99; march from, to Lugumbwa's, 120
  Martyr in command at, 115

Kampala (*continued*):
Masindi garrison's arrival at, 105
Price marching to, 122
Return to (May 2), 112, 116
Sudanese troops at, 51
Swayne cycling to, 31
Kampi Mbaruk, 32, 261
Kampi ya Simba Station, 277
Kangao, 290
Karamojo:
Arrival at populated district of (August 6), 142
Climate of, 235
Natives of. *See* Wa-Karamojo
Post to be established at, 79
Kariandus, 31, 261
Karuan Valley, 59
Katel, 157
Kathile, 154
Katikiro Apollo, 99, 101, 103, 106, 290
Katonga River, 110
Kavirondo:
Food arrangements at, 231
Natives of. *See* Wa-Kavirondo
Return to (June 17), 122
Kebewa district, 240
Kedong, 28, 267, 268
Kekeri, 156
Kenia, Mount, 257, 258
Kerio River, 60, 61, 258
Kerre, 196
Kestinz, Father, 293
Ketosh, 83-85, 119, 124, 246
Kiboko River, 233
—— —— Station, 273, 275, 277
Kibwezi, 17
Kijembo, 104
Kikuyu:
Coinage in favour at, 273
Natives of. *See* Wa-Kikuyu
Posts supplied with food from, 258
Prosperity of, 24, 25
Kilamoyo, 154
Kilima Kiu, 19
Kilimanjaro, Mount, 279, 280
Kilungu stream, 275
Kimama, 74
Kirkpatrick, Captain R. T., lions shot by, 22, 32; No. 3 Column accompanied by, 34; dealings of, with Sudanese at Ravine Station, 38, 296; at Buddu, 104, 110; joined by Sitwell, 110; to Kampala, 116; to Lake Choga, 120; Lake Choga surveyed by, 135; attacked by fever, 136; attached to Headquarter Column, 138; at Gule, 148; to Titi, 150; at Titi, 153; Morongole Hills explored by, 160; murder of, by Nakwai, 162, 166, 167; otherwise mentioned, 5, 8, 37, 40, 91, 94, 144, 151
Kirkpatrick, Lake, 238
Kisiliza, 110, 111
Kisimchanga River, 71, 141, 170
——Spur, 245
Kisite River, 275, 276
Kitare, 100
Kiteng, 149, 151, 154
Kitunzi, 289
Kiu, 279
Kivas, 61
Kiwaligoma, 120
Kobua stream, 182
Kokir Hills, 156
Komogul, 190, 200
Konde tribe, 128
Kuron Hills, 159
Kyramia, 291

Lado, 158
Lagin district, 227, 229, 232
Lane, Mr., 23
Langate la Nyuki, 256
Langus, 146
Lanjora camp, 272
Latuka:
Emin's old soldiery settled in, 150, 155-157
Natives of, 157
Sultan of, 156-158
Leterria water-course, 189
Lions, 13, 14, 19, 21, 22, 57, 58, 278, 279, 281, 282, 284
Lloyd, Mr., 97, 104, 290, 293
Load of flour, amount of, 132
Lobiyai nullah, 181
Lobor, 166
Lochoro Kuwiam, 224
Lofus, 159
Loggouren, 157, 158, 168
Logile, 155
Logoloum, 147
Lomathimyai, 173, 215-217
Lomoputhi River, 236
Looting, 125, 126, 145
Lorusia Mountains, 193
Losses in operations against mutineers, 113; total, 293
Luajali River, 289
—— Swamp, 102
Lubur, Mount, 188, 201
Lubwa, 291
Lubwa's:
Arrival at (June, 1898), 121
Canoes removed from, 42, 91
Destruction of fort at, 98
Events at (October - December, 1897), 90

Lubwa's (*continued*):
Fight at, 30, 46, 47, 113, 114, 297, 298
Forts constructed at, 98, 289
Grant at, 121
Irregulars at, strength of, 290
Message from, received at Save, 79
Mutineers' arrangements in fort at, 96, 97; mutineers' evacuation of fort at, 97
No. 1 Column's arrival at, 89
Situation of, 44
Thruston seized at, 43
Tracy's arrival at (May 8), 117
Waganda army's arrival at, 48, 52
Lugumbwa, 91
Lugumbwa's:
Harrison's reinforcements to, 97
Irregulars at, strength of, 290
Macdonald's arrival at (June 7), 121
March through, to Kampala, 99; march to, from Kampala, 120
Lugurmeri River, 183, 203
Lukara, 126
Lukelak River, 153
Lukom stream, 170, 245
Lumian, 190, 197, 198
Lykipia Mountains, 258

Mabruk, 163, 164
——, Effendi, 34, 36-38, 49, 298, 302
McAllister, 267
Macdonald, Colonel, service under, on former occasions, 1; with main body from Ndi, 15; illness of, at Kibwezi, 17; dealings of, with Sudanese, 34, 36, 302; route of, to Mumia's, 39-41; arrival at Mumia's, 42; at Lubwa's, 45-47; to Kampala, 50, 53; instructions from, to No. 1 Column, 55; canoe patrol organized by, 91; Mwanga defeated by, 94; return of, from Buddu, 99; reconnaissance by, to Kabagambi, 101; departure of, from Kampala (June 3, 1898), 120; march of, to Mumia's, 123; route of, with Headquarter Column, 141-168; arrival of, at Kiu on return journey, 280; extract from despatch of, 286-294; reply to statements on despatch of, 295-304; success of operations against mutineers due to, 113, 114; influence of, with natives, 99, 113, 301; estimate of, 35, 113, 114, 304
Macdonald, Lieutenant Norman A., Indian cart contingent under, from Ndi, 15; No. 2 Column commanded by, 33; arrival of, at Ravine Station, 40; at Save, 79; at Lubwa's, 91; death of, 92, 292, 298; burial of, 107; otherwise mentioned, 3-5, 8, 19, 31, 32, 38, 80, 82, 86
Machakos, 118, 272-274
Mackinnon, Dr., 12, 278
McLoughlin, Surgeon-Captain G. S., illness of, at Fort Smith, 23; left at Fort Smith, 33; at Buddu, 110; to Kampala, 116; to Lake Choga, 120; survey of Lake Choga by, 135; to Gule, 144; at Gule, 148; to Titi, 150; northern route explored by, 149; at Kiteng, 151; to Loggouren, 158; crater lake discovered by, 266, 267; otherwise mentioned, 5, 7, 10, 17, 94, 136, 163, 165, 238, 244, 248, 263, 265, 270, 272, 277, 280, 281, 288, 289
Macpherson, Dr. J. S., wounded at Lubwa's, 47, 90, 293; otherwise mentioned, 33, 34, 37, 40, 50, 288, 289
Madocks, Captain, 12
Madok, 156
Magosi, 145
Mahaji, 109
Mahomed Ratib Effendi, 120, 144
Majanja's, 84, 123
Makindu, 17, 18, 280
Makoba's, 89
Malcolm, Captain, with Scott's flying column, 101; to Foweira, 109; at Foweira, 112; otherwise mentioned, 95, 97
Malek, Mr., 44, 91, 96
Mangichi's, 123, 124
Manimani:
Food depôt at, 116, 223
Heavy baggage brought from, 150, 151
Natives at, 142
Post at, 143
Return to (December 5), 168
Tracy's market at, 223
Manimani stream, 237
Manyema, 149
Marich:
Arrival at, 63
Boat sections brought from, 170
Post at, 66; withdrawal of, ordered, 79
Return to, 218, 219
Marle district, 189-191
—— natives, 194
Martin, James, 257
Martyr, Major, command of military operations entrusted to (May 3, 1898), 112, 115; Sudanese encampment captured by, 112; to Kampala, 117

Martyr's Nile Expedition, 160
Masai:
  Circumcision customary among, 254
  Drovers, excellence as, 26
  Elmenteita, Lake, at, 261, 262
  Fortitude of, 89
  Loyalty and industry of, 249
  Mumia's, settled at, 86
  Wa-Kikuyu massacred by, 268
Masindi, 102, 105, 109, 112
Mathews, General Sir Lloyd, 284, 291
Matiana, 110
Matthews, Father, 293
Mau Mountains, 60, 257, 258
Maungu Hill, 10
Mayes, Mr., 41, 42, 106, 248, 263, 281, 291
Mbai:
  Arrival at (July 11), 131-134
  Food column from, attacked by Wa-Sore, 241
  Market established at, 77
  Post maintained at, 229
  Tracy's arrangements at, 223, 232
Medical arrangements, 288, 289
Meldon, Captain, at Lubwa's, 23
Mini-Shook-bin-Nimi-bin-Keeg-el-Sharazi-Bey, 142, 143
Missionaries, assistance to, 110; from, 293
Mitembi, 106
Mkono palm flower, 204
Moffat, Dr., Ternan under care of, 32; to Kampala, 98; with Scott's flying column, 101; to Foweira, 109; illness of, 112; position of, 288
Moghal River, 159
Molah Bux, 108
Molo River, 33, 261
Molony, Captain C. A., at Jinja, 44; at Lubwa's, 48; to Bale, 103, 104; death of, 107, 292
Mombasa:
  Arrival at (July 9, 1897), 5
  Development of, 6, 7
  Return to (March 4, 1899), 282
Mondo's, 121
Moody, Mr., 132
Morongole Hills, 160
Moroto, Mount, 236
Mosquitoes, 78, 195, 197
Mozinga, 155, 159
Mruli:
  Fort constructed at, 289
  Garrison left at, 109
  Importance of, 111
  Mutineers making for, 99
Mruli (*continued*):
  Porters concentrated at, 112
  Scott's flying column to, 101, 102
  Unhealthy nature of, 111
Mto Makindu, 17, 18
Mugoret stream, 170
Mugwania, 290
Mujasi, 290
Mumia's:
  Arrival at (October 8, 1897), 41; (December 2, 1897), 84; (June 19, 1898), 123
  Colony at, 86
  Fortification of, 41
  Mail-carriers from, 246
  March to, from Save, 80-84
  Monthly mail to, 222
  Return to (December 31, 1898), 247
  Routes to and from, 250
  Stores at, 119
Murle, 195, 196
Muroni River, 63, 68-70, 81, 219
—— Valley, 218
Mutineers, losses in operations against, 113
Mwanga, 51, 93 94, 106, 109-111, 247, 299, 300
Mwani station, 17, 19
Mwinyaheri, 263, 283
Myal River, 219

Nairobi, 23, 270
Naivasha Lake, 30
—— post, 258, 260-262, 267
Nakodokododoi River, 162
Nakua, Mount, 189
Nakuru, Lake, 22, 32
Nakwai Hills, 162
—— natives, 162-166
Namatara River, 129
Nambafu, 126, 127, 129, 130
Namirembe, 288
Namuganga, 102
Nandi:
  Mutineers at, 39, 297
  Post at, 253, 254
Nandi Plateau, 253, 254
Nangiya Hills, 153
Napoleon Gulf, 97
Narogare River, 251
Ndabibi plain, 264, 265
Ndara Hill, 11
Ndi Hills, 12
Nero, 154
Ngaboto:
  Food depot at, 118, 170
  Unhealthy nature of, 173
Ngamatak district, 177
—— natives, 208, 209

Ngara, 182, 196-198
Ngare Nyuki (Equator Camp), 16, 33, 259
Ngololomoragwet water-course, 181
Ngongo Bagas, 271
Njemps :
  Guides from, 210
  Sudanese desertions at, 34, 37
Nongolibe, 193
Nut-food, 158, 159
Nyanga, 62, 174, 180-183, 196, 203, 207, 208, 214, 218, 220
Nzawi Peak, 276
Nzoia River, 41, 84, 86, 122, 248, 249

Omdurman, news of fall of, 160
Omo River, 173, 186, 188, 194, 195, 197
Ore in rocks, 137
Osborn, Lieutenant F. B., market established by, at Mbai, 77; with No. 1 Column, 33; wounded at Kabagambi, 107, 293; otherwise mentioned, 5, 8, 28, 56, 57, 60, 63, 78, 80, 81, 83, 86, 94
Ostrich, tame, 229, 230
Oxen, 16, 25

Patterson, Mr., 281
Pegi, Mount, 135
Pereira, Lieutenant, to accompany expedition, 115, 119; to Port Victoria, 120, 121; to Mumia's, 123; to Mangichi's, 124; against Wa-Ngoko, 127, 128; to Save, 134; with Headquarter Column, 141 *et seq.*, 224; to Gule, 144; to Manimani, 148; to Loggouren, 158; otherwise mentioned, 136, 163, 238, 244-246, 248
Pilgrim, Miss E. L., 293
Pilkington, G., to Lubwa's, 48; death of, 92, 292; services of, 290, 292, 293; quoted, 304
Port Alice, 117
Port Victoria, 42, 50, 120, 121
Price, Major, 99, 111, 115, 117, 287, 291
Prices current, 198, 199, 209, 210, 223, 224, 270
Pringle, Major, 2, 60
Puff adder, 208

Racey, Mr., 91, 96
Rain medicine, request for, 191
Rakusi stream, 253
Rarosia River, 220
Raschid-bin-Omar, 163
Ravine Station, 23, 33, 38, 140
Rehan, 49, 149
Ribo Hills, 59
Road-making by natives, 102, 105, 120, 289
Rom Hilis, 146
Rose, G. P., 1, 2
Rudolf Column :
  Constitution of, 139
  Route of, 169-221
Rudolf, Lake :
  Arrival at, 185
  Encroachment of, 203
  Rivers flowing towards, 64, 65, 186, 205
  Water of, 186, 188, 206
Russell, Mr., 17, 279
Ruwenzori launch, 98, 288

Sacchi River, 194
Saddle-making, 137
Said Effendi, 213
Sajjid Hussain, 229, 230
Salutation by natives, 181, 182, 192
Samburu, 7
Samia Mountains, 87
Sanderson Gulf, 193, 194
Sarao, 156
Save :
  Arrival at, 72, 73
  Food stores at, 222
  Moody in charge at, 132
  Natives of, 75, 76
  Numbers at (November, 1898), 231
  Return to, by exploratory columns (November, 1898), 220; (December, 1898), 239
  Scarcity of trade goods at, 243
  Tracy to prepare at, 116, 119
Sclater, Captain, 7, 251, 252
Scott, Major T., at Mombasa, 6; to Lubwa's, 92, 97; to Kampala, 98; flying column under, 101; at Mruli, 102; at Masindi, 109; illness of, 112; rapid marching of, 287; otherwise mentioned, 105, 120
Scott, Mr., at Lubwa's, 43, 44, 46; death of, 49, 292; burial of, 107
Sekere stream, 219
Selim Bey affair, 301, 303
Seziwa River :
  Bridging of, 289
  Passage of, 100; passage forced by mutineers, 105
  Swamp of, 103, 105
Shaw, Mr., 102, 109
Sheriff, 133, 135, 137, 232, 247
Shulis, 147
Sikhs :
  Bullock driving by, 15
  Diet of, 177, 196
  Excellence of, 285, 291
  Lubwa's, at, 47

Simmons, Corporal, 7, 10, 15, 30, 31
Singo, 110
Sio River, 42, 87, 122
Sitwell, Captain, 51, 110, 287, 299
Skins, prices of, 224
Small-pox, 196, 201
Smith, Major Eric, 30, 257, 258, 260
Smoking by natives, 75, 183
Snipe, 197
Sobat region, 160, 161
'Sogis,' 222, 224, 230
'Soldiering and Surveying in British East Africa' cited, 24, 303
Solian Hills, 153, 154, 159
Songot Peak, 180, 206
Sore (*see also* Wa-Sore), 134
Southey, Captain, 111, 112
Sport. *See* Game
Stabb, Captain, 3-5, 284
Standage, Surgeon-Lieutenant, 288
Sudanese:
  Courage of, 49, 50
  Desertions of, 34, 37
  Grievances of, 300, 301
  Macdonald's dealings with, 34, 36, 302
  Numbers of, at Ngare Nyuki, 36
  Suicide of, 258, 259
  Supremacy, dreams of, 52
  Volunteers, 115, 300
  Waganda, attitude towards, 51, 52
  Women, surrender of, after Kabagambi fight, 107; hardiness of, 246
Sudi, 164
Suk Hills, 171
—— natives. *See* Wa-Suk
Suliman Effendi, 36, 39, 46, 298
Supplies, scarcity of, 63, 67, 71, 79, 83, 145, 146, 148, 149, 158, 176, 196, 207, 217
Swahilis:
  Circumcision customary among, 254
  Diet of, 146, 193, 199, 200
  Dress of, 282, 283
  Endurance and cheerfulness of, 184
  Excellence of corps of, 291
  Extravagance of, 243
  Hardships of, 117
  Industry and loyalty of, 207
  Masai contrasted with, 89
  Traders, 73, 76, 247
Swayne, Captain, 261

Tarangole, 156-159, 168
Taru, 9, 10
Taylor, Miss B., 293
Ted, 12-14, 17
Teleki, Count, 62, 199
Teretenia, 155
Ternan, Major, 32, 295, 302
Thibak River, 146
Thomsett, Miss M. S., 293
Thomson, Joseph, cited, 57
Thruston, Major, at Lubwa's, 42-44, 46, 48, 49, 297, 298; canoes removed by, 91; death of, 49, 291, 292; burial of, 107; estimate of, 292; cited, 302
Tigrish River, 57
Timpson, Miss K., 294
Titi:
  Arrival at, by Headquarter Column, 146
  Food left at, 244
  Post established at, 153
  Return to, 159
Tobacco:
  Chewing of, by natives, 178
  'Lucky Hit,' popularity of, 198
  Smoking of, by natives, 75, 183
Toke, 149
Tomatum, 164
Tompkins, Mr., 41, 42
Tracy, Lieutenant the Hon. A. Hanbury, Sclater cart contingent under, from Ndi, 16, 18, 19; with No. 1 Column, 33; market established by, at Mbai, 77; in command at Save, 80; to Kampala (March 10), 110; to Kampala (April 28), 116; to Save, 116, 119; to Lubwa's, 117; Swahilis conciliated by, 118; to Ngaboto, 132, 133; third column under, 139, 222-230; transport arrangements made by, 151; to Bukora, 167; donkeys sent by, towards Ngaboto, 170, 224; meeting with, at Weiwei crossing, 217, 230; to Kavirondo, 232; elephant shooting by, 233, 234; popularity of, among Wa-Karamojo, 239; Kitunzi post constructed by, 289; otherwise mentioned, 5, 8, 12, 20, 22, 28, 78, 244, 248, 281
Trading:
  Native refusal of, 210
  Unsuccessful attempts at, 179, 209
Transport:
  Lack of, in Rudolf Column, 187
  Native, establishment of, 227
Tumbo, 209, 210
Turkan, Sultan of, 151
Turkana:
  Attacks by, 213-215
  Boat left in charge of, 173, 174
  Flight of, 185
  Ngamatak chief, 208
  Nomadic habits of, 179

Turkana (*continued*):
Ornaments of, 174, 178
Physical characteristics of, 174, 175, 216
Salutation of, 181, 182
Tracy's dealings with, 133
Treachery and dishonesty of, 175, 210-213, 237
Visits from, 177, 184, 204
War-cry of, 213
Turkwel River:
Absorption of, in sand, 61, 205
Camps at, 204-206, 208, 245
Fording of, 81, 171, 208
March along, 206, 208
Sport at, 176, 177
Streams joining, 142, 236
Weiwei, junction with, 205, 216
Turkwel Valley, enervating climate of, 235
Turner, Surgeon-Captain, 108, 112, 288
Tzavo, 281

Uganda Railway:
Accident on, 8, 9
Construction of, inspected, 280
Hospitality of officials of, 11
Return to, 277
Survey for, 1, 2
Ukambani, famine in, 260, 272, 273, 276
Umia, 149
Unga, 103
Unyoro:
Fight near, 155
Garrisons of, anxiety regarding, 51-53, 84, 94, 97-99, 101, 105, 299
Indian escort ordered to, 118
Ireyta in, 111
Mutineers marching on, 106
Usoga, 87, 88

Vegetable gardens, 24, 254, 274
Victoria Nyanza, 87
Voi River, 10, 11
—— Station, 281
Vomiting, attacks of, 123, 124, 135

Waganda:
Bridging and road-making by, 102, 103, 105, 120, 289
Courage of, 290
Loyalty of, 51, 299
Lubwa's, at, 48, 52, 53, 90, 91
Macdonald's popularity with, 99
Mohammedans, 44, 46, 48, 110, 111, 247, 297, 299
Waganda (*continued*):
Sudanese, attitude towards, 51, 52
Transport by, 287, 288
Wa-Kamba, 253, 254, 271, 273
Wa-Karamojo:
Dance by, 239
Friendly advances from, 167
Grain purchased from, 151
Physical type of, 71, 216, 237
Wa-Kavirondo, 248, 253
Wake, Lieutenant, to Namuganga, 103; to Unyoro, 108; to Mruli, 111; at Foweira, 112
Wakedi, 166
Wa-Kikuyu:
Circumcision customary among, 254
Customs of, 75
Massacre of, 268
Peace effected between Masai and, 26
Punitive expedition against, 269
Wa-Kimama, 133
Wakolis, 88
Wakufukoa River, 276
Wa-Kumoni, 124, 125
Walala stream, 154
Wa-Mbai, 226
Wa-Nandi, 254, 255
Wa-Ngoko, 127-129
Wasoga:
Jiggers prevalent among, 88
Lubwa's, at, 90, 91
Praise of, 290, 291
Wa-Sore, aggressive behaviour of, 224-226, 232, 240-242
Wa-Suk:
Boat left with, 170
Crag dwellings of, 64
Dabasien offshoot of, 142
Deputation from, 62, 63
Dress and ornaments of, 65, 66, 85
Hilarity of, 219
Nervousness of, 61
Nyanga. *See* Nyanga
Water:
Scarcity of, 10, 11
Storage of, by natives, 144, 238
Watering animals, 182, 206
Wa-Teita, 253, 271
Wa-Ucia, 132, 227, 228
Weiwei River:
Passage of (August, 1898), 172
Tracy met at, 217, 230
Turkwel, junction with, 205, 216
Wembi, 240, 242
Whale-boat, 55, 64, 170, 173, 174
Wildebeeste, 277, 278

Wilson, A., 293
——, D. J., 277, 278
——, George, at Kampala, 50, 51; canoe patrol and transport organized by, 91, 288; zeal of, 294; otherwise mentioned, 93, 115, 299
——, J. P., 30, 253
——, N., at Lubwa's, 42-44, 46, 302; death of, 49, 292; burial of, 107
Woodward, Captain E. M., at Mto Makindu, 17; with No. 3 Column, 34; to Mumia's, 40; at Lubwa's, 53; letters from, received at Majanja, 84; advanced fort at Lubwa's constructed by, 91, 289; in command of operations at Lubwa's, 95-99; to Kampala, 98; to Banda, 100; breakdown of, 101; rapid marching of, 286; otherwise mentioned, 5, 8
Wrist-knives, 174, 237

Yala River, 252
Yiate Hills, 59

Zakariah, 290

THE END

BILLING AND SONS, LIMITED, PRINTERS, GUILDFORD

Telegrams:
'Scholarly, London.'
Telephone:
No. 1883 Mayfair.

41 and 43 Maddox Street,
Bond Street, London, W.
January, 1910.

Mr. Edward Arnold's

Spring List of New Books

January-March, 1910.

LIBERTY AND AUTHORITY.

By Lord HUGH CECIL, M.P.

Crown 8vo., buckram. **2s. 6d.**

This pithy volume contains an address delivered by the author on the occasion of his inauguration as President of the Associated Societies of the University of Edinburgh. He does not trench upon the difficult ground of metaphysics, but takes as his subject for discussion Political Liberty and its Limitations and Objects. In the course of the address the interesting thesis is evolved that Liberty consists in the power of doing, not what others approve of, but what they disapprove of, and that if an individual has not the right to do what others deprecate, he is not free at all. This thesis is tested by application to several of the political problems of our own day.

ACROSS THE SAHARA.

From Tripoli to Bornu.

By HANNS VISCHER, M.A.
POLITICAL SERVICE, NORTHERN NIGERIA.

With Illustrations and a Map. Demy 8*vo.* **12s. 6d. net.**

In his adventurous and interesting journey, the author traversed a region practically unexplored by any white man since the days of Barth. Starting with a large and somewhat unruly caravan, one of his great difficulties was to keep the peace between the Arabs and Negros who composed it: as the expedition advanced farther south they had to encounter terrible desert tracts where no water could be found for days, and where oases were few and far between. At a later stage the hostility of certain native tribes with a taste for brigandage caused serious trouble, and some severe fighting. The author, however, accepted his mischances with philosophy, and imparts to the reader the pleasure and excitement that each day's journey brought forth. The narrative is graphic and picturesque, and much information is conveyed incidentally as to the resources of the country and the life of its inhabitants.

WITH A PREHISTORIC PEOPLE:

The A-ki-ku-yu of British East Africa.

By W. SCORESBY ROUTLEDGE, M.A., OXON,
and KATHARINE ROUTLEDGE, M.A.
TRIN. COLL., DUBLIN.

With 176 *pages of Illustrations and a Map. Medium* 8*vo.*
21s. net.

This is the first published account of one of the most interesting of African peoples, previously unknown to white men, who have lately come under British rule. The object of the authors, who have recently returned from a prolonged sojourn amongst them, is to describe primitive life as it really exists, and the book should be of great value to those who are interested in our Empire and its responsibilities as well as to those of more scientific tastes. It should also prove of material assistance to Government officials, settlers, and travellers in the country described, enabling them to understand native thought and custom. 'The great interest of the subject,' say the authors, 'lies in the fact that the A-ki-kú-yu of to-day are at the point where our ancestors stood in earliest times.' There are nearly two hundred pages of illustrations from the authors' photographs.

A CENTURY OF EMPIRE, 1801-1900.

VOLUME II., FROM 1833 TO 1867.

By the Right Hon. Sir HERBERT MAXWELL, Bart., P.C.,
AUTHOR OF 'THE LIFE OF WELLINGTON,' ETC.

With Portraits in Photogravure. Demy 8vo., cloth. **14s. net.**

The second of Sir Herbert Maxwell's three volumes covers the central period of the nineteenth century, and extends from the passing of the first to the passing of the second Reform Bill, the latter date being, of course, chosen not as marking the close of an epoch, but simply in order to divide the century as nearly as possible into equal third parts. The outstanding feature of English politics during the first portion of this period is the disappearance of the old-time Tories and the creation of the modern Conservative Party by Sir Robert Peel. Of the questions which agitated the country in and out of Parliament, two are of special interest at the present hour—namely, the reform of the administration of the Poor Law in 1834, and the controversy between Protection and Free Trade. With the close of the latter by the Repeal of the Corn Laws and the disappearance of Peel from the scene, a new era opens. The strife of parties continues under new leaders, some of whom have only recently passed away; but it is concerned with less momentous issues, and the interest shifts largely to external matters, the Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny, the war in the United States, and the beginnings of great changes in the political system of Europe, where the events of 1848 ushered in a new epoch, which witnessed the struggle for liberty in Italy, and the sudden rise of Prussia.

It has been said with reference to Sir Herbert Maxwell's first volume, that he is a politician, therefore a party man, therefore disqualified from writing history. The criticism was anticipated by the author, who has given what is surely the sufficient and only possible answer to it—namely, that hitherto the writing of the history of the period has been monopolized by party men—of the other side.

WAR AND THE ARME BLANCHE.

By ERSKINE CHILDERS,

AUTHOR OF 'THE RIDDLE OF THE SANDS'; EDITOR OF VOL. V. OF THE '"TIMES" HISTORY OF THE WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA,' ETC.

With an Introduction by the Right Hon. Field-Marshal EARL ROBERTS, K.G.,

AUTHOR OF 'FORTY-ONE YEARS IN INDIA.'

Large crown 8*vo*. **7s. 6d. net.**

The writer attacks the present armament of cavalry, with whom the sword or lance is the dominant weapon, and the rifle the subordinate weapon. All forms of compromise being impossible, he advocates the abolition of the steel weapon, and the conversion of cavalry into the highest and most perfect type of Mounted Riflemen. His historical argument is based mainly upon the South African War, in the course of which steel weapons were abandoned altogether, and an exceedingly high type of mounted rifleman developed; but he traces the slow revolution in mounted methods, wrought by improved firearms, from the middle of the last century up to the present day, culminating in the Manchurian War, where, as in South Africa, the steel was practically of no account. The author's view is that the education and efficiency not only of the cavalry, but of all our mounted troops, home or colonial, regular or volunteer, mounted infantry, mounted riflemen, or yeomanry, depends on clear notions as to the relative value of the rival weapons, and he shows what confusion and obscurity the undefined functions of the steel weapon import into any consideration of the vitally important functions of the mounted rifleman. He advocates one pure type, under a single name—Cavalry—for all purposes.

A HISTORY OF THE LONDON HOSPITAL.

By E. W. MORRIS,

SECRETARY OF THE LONDON HOSPITAL.

With 16 pages of Illustrations and several Plans. One Volume. Large crown 8vo., cloth. **6s. net.**

The history of this great Hospital is not only interesting on account of the particular incidents of its long and honourable career, and the prominent men who have been connected with it, but also provides a typical example of the way in which our splendid medical charities have grown and developed. Beginning with a survey of the condition of Medicine and Surgery in 1741, the date of the foundation of the Hospital, the author describes its early days in Goodman's Field, the move to Whitechapel, and the gradual growth during the last hundred and fifty years. He then deals with the system of Administration, Finance, and Management, the relation of the Hospital to Medical and Surgical Science, the Medical School, and the Development of Sick Nursing. The reader is initiated into some noteworthy customs and ceremonies of the Hospital, and some account is given of the men whose names stand out in its history. The author has enjoyed exceptional advantages in writing his book, through his position as Secretary of the Hospital, and has collected some valuable materials for illustrating it from sources not generally accessible.

NEIGHBOURS AND FRIENDS.

By M. LOANE,

AUTHOR OF 'AN ENGLISHMAN'S CASTLE,' 'THE QUEEN'S POOR,' ETC.

One Volume. Crown 8vo., cloth. **6s.**

Miss Loane's store of anecdotes and thumbnail sketches of the poor, their ways of living, and their modes of thought and expression, are apparently inexhaustible. Readers of her earlier works will find in 'Neighbours and Friends' a collection as entertaining and as full of interest as any of its predecessors. Miss Loane never dogmatizes, and rarely indulges in generalization, but there are few problems connected with the Administration of Public Relief on which her pages do not throw fresh light.

A SUMMER ON THE CANADIAN PRAIRIE.

By GEORGINA BINNIE CLARK.

With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. **6s.**

This is a genial and breezy account of how two young English ladies went out to Canada and joined their brother, who, with another young Englishman, had taken up a grant of land in the North-West and was trying to convert it into a farm. The story is 'told like a novel,' but it is obviously founded very closely on facts, and is realistic in the best sense of the word—a piece of actual everyday life. The sisters do *not* fall in love with their brother's partner, and the young men do *not* display any heroic capacity for triumphing over difficulties. On the contrary, they are rather an ordinary pair of amiable inefficient people, and they fare accordingly. What happens is consequently very much more amusing than if the book had been constructed to point a moral, while there is plenty to be learned from it by those who choose to read between the lines.

AN ENGLISH STUDENT'S WANDER-YEAR IN AMERICA.

By A. G. BOWDEN-SMITH.

One Volume. Crown 8vo., cloth. **5s. net.**

The author of this book has made a study of an aspect of American life which will be novel to most English readers. She was fortunate enough to be able to visit representative specimens of every variety of higher educational centre—and in America there are many varieties. Being fresh from the life of Newnham College, she was peculiarly alert to note the points in which they resembled and differed from the corresponding institutions in England; and she has traced with remarkable shrewdness the resulting effects, not only in respect to education in the narrower sense, but on individual character, and in the form of influences, subtle and far-reaching, on social development. She had the advantage of meeting the students on an equal footing, and so gained many opportunities of seeing things as they are which an 'educational expert' of higher standing and authority could not have enjoyed. But Miss Bowden Smith is herself an educational expert in a very real sense, and readers of her comprehensive and sympathetic survey will feel that they have gained a quite new insight into the character of the American people.

THE CLERGY AND SOCIAL SERVICE.

Cambridge Lectures on Pastoral Theology.

By the Very Rev. W. MOORE EDE, D.D.,
DEAN OF WORCESTER.

One Volume. Crown 8vo., cloth. **2s. 6d. net.**

These lectures differ from others delivered on Pastoral Theology at Cambridge in the extent to which they emphasise the opportunities of social service which are open to the clergy, and the importance of utilizing them—a subject in which their author has had great experience through his intimate connection with industrial life and working-class organizations. That this aspect of clerical life is pre-eminently the one which needs to be brought before candidates for Holy Orders at the present time is the general opinion of those who would see the social re-organization which is now taking place dominated by spiritual rather than by materialistic ideals. There are six lectures, entitled: What is the Church and what are its Duties?—Equipment for the Work—Reading, Preaching and Speaking—Agencies Outside the Church which are Working for Social Redemption—The Church and Charity—The Church as Teacher and Inspirer of Education.

THREE NEW NOVELS.

FRANKLIN KANE.

By ANNE DOUGLAS SEDGWICK,
AUTHOR OF 'VALERIE UPTON,' 'AMABEL CHANNICE,' ETC.

Crown 8vo. **6s.**

This is the story of a *partie carrée*, two men and two women (one of each is American, the other English), the threads of whose lives become interwoven, owing to a chance meeting in an hotel. How will they pair off? This is the problem: now one solution seems inevitable, now another. As the plot develops two of the *dramatis personæ* stand revealed as irredeemably ordinary, weak, egoistic; two as self-reliant, noble, and capable of clear-eyed self-sacrifice. Ultimately the determining factor is character, which proves stronger than the chains of circumstance. It is comedy, but serious comedy, and the situations towards the close have a poignancy of which Miss Sedgwick alone possesses the secret.

NEW NOVELS—*continued.*

AN EXTREMELY INTERESTING NOVEL BY A NEW AUTHOR.

SILVERWOOL.

A Tale of the North Country Fells.

By EMILY JENKINSON.

Crown 8vo., cloth. **6s.**

Every page of this powerful and original novel is fragrant with the fresh mountain air of the Fells. What Thomas Hardy has done for the people of Wessex, Miss Jenkinson aims with considerable success at doing for the Northern Dalesmen. 'Silverwool' is a prize ram, and the action of the story to some extent centres round his fortunes in the show-ground, affording the author scope for some very interesting studies of country life and character. The situations are excellent, the characters well-drawn, and the style literary and charming.

5

A STEPSON OF THE SOIL.

By MARY J. H. SKRINE.

Crown 8vo., cloth. **6s.**

This story deals with life in an English village of the southern counties. It concerns itself chiefly with an old couple in an old cottage, their 'hidy-holes,' their relations with each other, and with a runaway waif, who becomes their lodger: also with the fortunes in love and luck of handsome Robert Burn, the Warrener; and with the local wise woman and her 'lawful arts.' It is impossible to do justice to the charm and skill of the story in a mere outline. The waif, Phil White, is admirably drawn, so are the old Dallins. There is a delicate strength in the picture of Jane Dallin, which will be appreciated by every reader.